THE NAVY UNDER THE EARLY STUARTS.

C. D. PENN.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF CHISWICK
"THE TRUE UNIVERSITY OF THESE DAYS IS A COLLECTION OF BOOKS" CARLYLE
1887
1906
DOMINVS
NISI
FRVSTRA
PVBLIC LIBRARY

W.W.B. 1903.

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

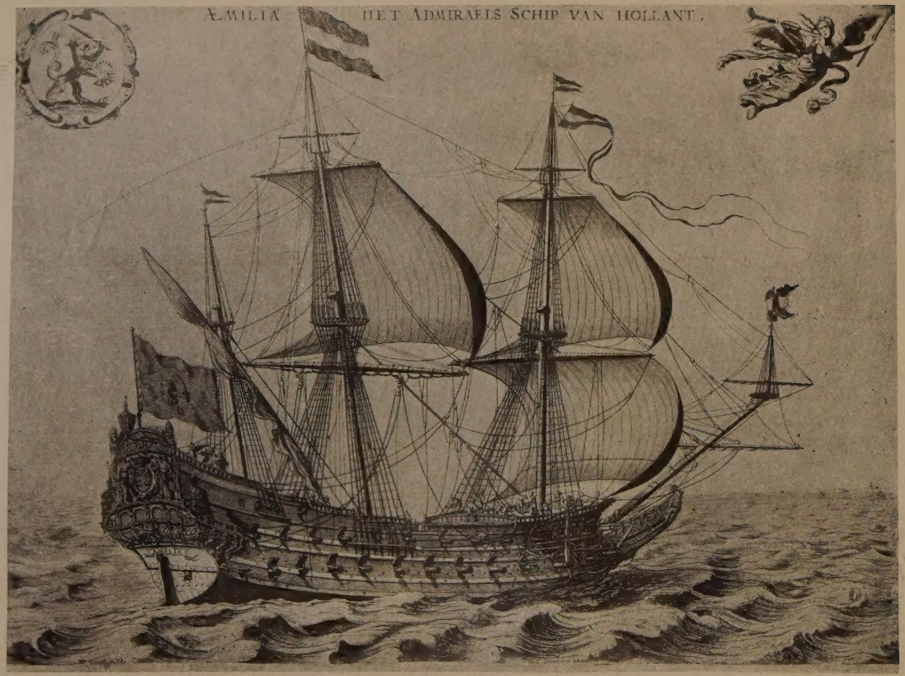
Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION



A DUTCH MAN-OF-WAR OF THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY.
(From a Dutch print).

942.061/062:3

THE NAVY UNDER THE EARLY STUARTS

AND

ITS INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH HISTORY

BY

C. D. PENN, M.A. Lond.

THE FAITH PRESS,
LEIGHTON BUZZARD AND MANCHESTER,
1913.
FIVE SHILLINGS NET.

62918

I42.06

PREFACE.

The glorious heritage of the Navy has ever been one of the most jealously-guarded treasures in our nation's history. To speak of the exploits of Drake and Frobisher, of Hawke and Nelson; to recount the famous deeds of renown which our gallant sailors have wrought in every quarter of the globe; to narrate with increased enthusiasm the stirring adventures and victorious expeditions which have made the name of Englishmen celebrated throughout the whole universe; all this becomes a source of pleasure to the writer, who loves with a patriotic fervour the deeds of daring which never weary, even when twice-told.

But in our naval history, as in everything else, we must be prepared to find, as it were, the outer and inner side of the lining,—the days of glory and renown, the gloomy days of despair and pessimism. And it is the melancholy page of naval achievements that forms the subject of this work. Perhaps no more calamitous era in sea-operations, since the navy assumed a modern form, has found its way into the annals of our country's history. Yet it is with infinite joy that we see no lack of courage, even under the most trying circumstances, among our stout mariners. Though their exploits cannot rival the mighty deeds of Elizabethan and Georgian naval heroes, such men as Monson and Pennington, Plumleigh and Mervyn, will never be forgotten as long as pluck and determination are considered true indications of a gallant spirit. It was not the men that were at fault, but the administration—that system of organized chaos which for corruption and malversation could scarcely be equalled, never

perhaps be exceeded. It was a period during part of which one of the most incompetent of profligate courtiers had almost absolute sway over the destinies of a navy, which still clung to the glorious Elizabethan traditions, and the melancholy narratives of Cadiz and Ré testify to the "tale of ruin" with which Buckingham's rule overwhelmed England.

In this attempt to sketch briefly the naval operations of our fleets under the early Stuarts, and their influence upon the nation's history, I merely expose to view a bare statement of facts, culled from various sources, without in any way striving to emulate any of the distinguished naval writers whose volumes I have perused with such pleasure and gratitude.

A list of works,—a few out of the many—which have been studied or scanned lightly, as the case may be, will be found at the end of the book. The reading of some of these was perhaps unnecessary, as not bearing directly upon the subject in question, but every book or pamphlet on naval matters is of the utmost interest to the naval student, and no time is ill-spent that is given to increase one's knowledge of the history of the naval service.

Although the Algiers, Cadiz and Ré Expeditions took place during Buckingham's administration, I have preferred to give to them separate chapters, owing to their importance, and also in order to make the administration of Buckingham and the minor operations during the period of his office continuous and consecutive. For this reason it has been rather difficult at times to avoid repeating references to certain operations or to other details of lesser importance, but I trust the kindly reader or critic will not judge too adversely my earnest endeavour to do all for the best.

C. D. PENN.

Ellesmere College,
Shropshire,
February, 1913.

CONTENTS.

Chapter.		Page
	Introduction	vii
I.	Nottingham and Naval Deterioration, 1603–14	1
II.	Nottingham and Naval Chaos, 1614–19 ...	29
III.	Buckingham and the "Grand Commission," 1619–23	54
IV.	The Algiers Expedition, 1620–21	81
V.	Buckingham and the "Grand Commission," 1624–28	103
VI.	The Expedition to Cadiz, 1625	139
VII.	The Expedition to Ré, 1627	167
VIII.	Operations off La Rochelle to the Imposition of Ship-money, 1628–34	205
IX.	The Ship Money Fleets, 1634—41	238
X.	The Navy during the Civil War, 1642—49 ...	265
	Authorities	298

INTRODUCTION.

The importance of naval operations and their influence upon the history of a nation have been the subject of many a tome, yet the question of the real value of an efficient but expensive military marine to a country bordering upon the sea, ever continues a subject replete with controversial points, and containing intricate problems for the guardians of national exchequers. Is a lavish expenditure of money upon the naval service, when such a financial burden bears heavily upon the nation's resources, always justified in the case of a state whose existence principally depends upon its mercantile marine? Should the naval force increase proportionately with the increase of the nation's sea-borne commerce and colonial expansion? Does a disinclination to keep up the numbers and efficiency of a powerful fleet produce a subsequent decadence in the state itself? The histories of Phœnicia and Carthage, of Spain and Holland, are in themselves the sternest object lessons which the past can present to our view, and from which we can draw our own conclusions.

Throughout the eras of history the sea has always borne a prominent part in the development and growth of maritime nations. From the age of the trireme to the period of the galley, from the time when the galley gave way to the two and three-decker, and this latter in its turn was replaced by the ironclad, we see it exerting its enormous influence on the political or

commercial world. Such unlimited power as the control of the sea gives has been recognised from earliest times, and one need but cite a few out of the numberless examples where this dominating factor has shown its mighty powers, in order to prove the truth of the assertion. Rome's maritime supremacy kept Macedonia from assisting Carthage during Hannibal's heroic struggles in the Italian peninsula; the same power prevented the Carthaginian general from receiving the reinforcements so earnestly desired from his own native country. Turning to modern times, we find the want of an efficient naval force compelling Lesdiguières, Louis XIII's skilful general, to bring his operations before Genoa to an unsuccessful conclusion; and the same urgent necessity checked Wallenstein in his victorious career, and prevented him from obtaining his crowning triumph by the capture of Stralsund and the islands of the Baltic.

To the nation that understands fully the secret of the sea's occult strength, and through this knowledge succeeds in utilizing the latent forces that lie ready to hand on its seaboard, a great access of strength must necessarily accrue. By refusing to take advantage of the gift, which nature has bestowed upon it in the form of a more or less extended coast-line, a state deserves to find itself relegated to a secondary place, and to see its neighbours raising themselves to a position of eminence and grandeur, who, beforetime, though possessing an inferior sea-board, had nevertheless reaped to the full the harvest with which their proximity to the sea had provided them.

But maritime commercial supremacy is impossible without an adequate protection for the mercantile marine, and the jealousy of nations must always make indispensable a

powerful naval force, capable of safe-guarding the national interests on the sea. The whole history of the past amply bears out the statement. The nation that lives by the sea must be strong on the sea, and the decadence of commercial states can in almost every case be traced to their inability or refusal to maintain a naval arm commensurate with their commercial greatness. Therefore the history of mercantile expansion is a history of the military marine, or as a well-known authority has stated, "The History of sea-power, while embracing in its broad sweep all that tends to make a people great upon the sea, or by the sea, is largely a military history."[1]

And whereas commercial expansion by land becomes less secure and more precarious the farther this development is from the centre of power which constitutes its protection, no distance by sea has any terrors for the enterprising trader, no fears arise in his mind of finding himself beyond a zone which his country's fleets can patrol. As in the world of commerce, so in that of politics. A country naturally protected by high mountains or deep rivers might feel in perfect security, even from hostile neighbours on its very frontiers, but an enemy in possession of a powerful fleet would prove a source of continual anxiety and apprehension, though whole continents separated the rival states. The influence of the sea has no limits; it possesses no fixed boundaries.

"As for distance," said the Venetian ambassador at Rome, in 1614, to Cardinal Borghese, who ridiculed the notion of Savoy receiving help from a country so far away

(1) Mahan: 'Influence of Sea-Power upon History.'

as England, "good seamen like the English, intrepid at sea, the sons of Neptune, quickly reach provinces and kingdoms in their ships, and they sail better in the winter season than at any times of the year."[2] The lesson was not lost on the Cardinal. The underrated influence of English sea-power was only just in its infancy as far as the Mediterranean was concerned. Yet had the Cardinal but lived to see the English fleet some years later riding at anchor in Alicante roads, his contempt would have given way to astonishment and even apprehension.

From ancient times the power which the sea gave to control or fetter land operations in war has been enormous. From the decisive result of Actium which gave the Roman world to Octavius, to the destruction of Napoleon's dreams in the famous fight off the Nile mouths; from Zama's bloody field, where Rome's supremacy in the Mediterranean enabled her to dictate her own terms to Carthage, once mistress of that inland ocean, but now, through her loss of maritime power, a mere shadow of her former greatness,—from that fatal field to Derry's northern shores, where a small squadron of English vessels raised the siege of the beleaguered city, and turned the tide of success, which, up to that time, had followed the steps of a dethroned king; in short, throughout the whole course of history, few military operations of any importance have been undertaken that did not demand the co-operation, in some way or another, of a naval force. While the English fleet in the opening years of the 17th century patrolled Spanish waters, and so closed the communications between Spain and the

(2) S. P. D. Nov. 8, 1614.

Netherlands, Ostend was able to receive its food supplies from a Dutch squadron, and by this means successfully resisted for three years the combined efforts of Spinola and his forces. In August, 1604, the English fleet was withdrawn in consequence of the treaty of peace between James and Philip of Spain, and within a month from that date Ostend had fallen.[3] To no one more than to Henry IV of France was the necessity of a strong navy brought more forcibly home. In order to realise his "Great Design" and effectually humble the pride of the Austro-Spanish power, naval operations were as necessary as those by land. Among his plans of campaign, none was of greater consequence than the blockade of the coasts of Flanders by a Dutch fleet, which at that time was put at his disposal. But in the Mediterranean his hands were completely tied through the want of an efficient navy, and bitterly did he deplore the wars of the League, which had hindered France from understanding the vital necessity of a naval force, capable of coping with the maritime supremacy of Spain in the inland sea. The Grand Duke of Tuscany secretly inclined to Henry's views, but the Spanish fleet was ever off his coasts, Spanish troops surrounded him on every side, and he dared not break with Spain. "If the King of France," he repeatedly cried, when Henry reproached him for his *liaison* with the bigoted Philip, "had had 40 galleys at Marseilles, I should never have done what I was compelled to do."[4] And the French monarch lost an ally, whose services would have been of inestimable benefit to him in his plans for the invasion of Italy.

(3) See Henri Martin: 'Histoire de France.' Vol x., p. 627.

(4) Richelieu's 'Testament Politique," with his notes on his 'Règlement pour la mer.'

But the mantle of Henry IV. descended on worthy shoulders when Richelieu entered upon the task of finishing what the knife of Ravaillac cut short. Henry had determined to create a navy in the Mediterranean, where his designs demanded the formation of a fleet and operations by sea. Richelieu went a step further, and relying upon the hostility between the States and Spain, and the deterioration of the English Navy, he resolved to make France completely independent of foreign aid, and to give it such a fleet as would rival even the navies of the maritime powers themselves. "What a crying disgrace it has been," he writes to the Keeper of the Seals, "that the King, who is the senior of all Christian monarchs, should be weaker than all the princes of Christendom as far as concerns the power of the sea. From henceforth, His Majesty has resolved to make himself as strong by sea, as he finds himself at this moment on land."[5] And Rochelle and Lérins amply recompensed the Cardinal's stupendous exertions, and demonstrated with indisputable force the utility of the naval arm.

It would be impossible to find a clearer instance of the value of sea-power than the case of Holland in the seventeenth century. A country of insignificant proportions, open to easy invasion from the land side, with a coast line that presented few good harbours, she yet maintained a position of considerable standing among her neighbours, and though assailed by powerful foes, both by land and sea, succeeded in playing a role in European politics far out of proportion to the extent of her territory. That jealousy among the European states aided

(5) Richelieu's 'Lettres d'Etat,' Nov. 8, 1626.

her enormously cannot be denied. But in her unequal strife with Spain, with France, and even with England, she relied solely upon her naval resources, and the fact that she emerged from the strife without the loss of a single foot of territory presents an irrefutable proof of the extraordinary influence of maritime power.

In the case of England, certain factors appear which are wanting in our consideration of Holland. An island-nation, however weak in artificial defences, is nevertheless exceptionally strong by reason of its separation from the continental mainland. Though at times in her history England has been in danger of invasion, she has never experienced the peril of having to meet a naval attack in front and rear since the fatal year of the Norman conquest. And neither of these assaults was from the hostile state north of the Tweed, but from elsewhere; and of such a nature that the existence of a fleet on her coasts would, without great difficulty, have warded off the danger. But no adequate naval force seconded the gallant efforts of the warlike Harold, and while he was successfully struggling against the hardy warriors marching under the banners of the Norwegian Hardrada, the Norman Duke had landed unmolested upon the shores of Sussex, and had commenced those land operations which were ultimately to lead to the conquest of England, and gain for him a regal throne. The want of a fleet had been one of the main causes of Saxon England's undoing, and chiefly through this fatal neglect a new dynasty had replaced the ancient line of monarchs. The lesson thus learnt was not lost on the Norman and Plantagenet rulers, and England only awaited the moment when the loss of her French possessions, the unity of France, and the

hostility of Spain, made her realize that her destiny was upon the water, in order to launch herself forward on a career of maritime conquest, which was ultimately to give her that supremacy by sea, which, however often contested, has been retained throughout successive ages.

The overwhelming power which the control of the sea can exert, must thus be ever a determining factor in the history of maritime nations, and the country that fails to realize this incontrovertible truth, will assuredly experience disasters of which the history of the past affords so many notable examples.

CHAPTER I.

NOTTINGHAM AND NAVAL DETERIORATION. 1603-1614.

Among the legacies which Elizabeth bequeathed to her successor, none was more precious than that which so much appealed to the sentiment of every patriotic Englishman,—the Royal Navy. Elizabethan sailors had carried the English flag into every part of the world. The exploits of Drake and Frobisher, of Hawkins and Gilbert, of Howard and Grenville, had thrilled the universe; and the mere mention of their names had made the Spaniard tremble for his life and property, whether he chanced to be under the protecting guns of Cadiz or Ferrol, or in the far-off lands of Peru and Mexico, where the subjects of his Catholic Majesty were exposing the natives to untold misery, in the exploitation of treasure mines whose unlimited wealth was to swell the coffers of a bigoted king.

Elizabeth's parsimonious habits had not tended to strengthen the Navy. Even during the grave crisis of 1588, when the dreaded Armada was threatening the liberties of the nation, many of the gallant barks, which put out to attack those floating castles, were obliged to cease pursuit for want of powder. But enthusiasm amply made up for this urgent necessity. The merchant service, that backbone of England's naval force during the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth,[1] came to the rescue, and the mighty galleons of

(1) See Molin's (Ven. Amb.) interesting report on England, May, 1607, and Foscarini's letter to his Government, Sept. 3/13, 1613, S. P. Venetian.

N.B.—For explanation of capital letters, see list of authorities at end of book.

Spain found these trading vessels of small tonnage and slender armament, an adversary with which their own more powerful walls and batteries were unable to cope successfully.

But with the advent of another line on the English throne, a radical change was destined to undermine that superiority on the ocean which Elizabethan mariners had proudly exhibited in all parts of the world. Signs were not wanting, even before the death of the Virgin Queen, of decline in naval administration and maritime prowess. Sir William Monson speaks of the neglect of the Queen's service during the latter part of her reign, when Sir Richard Leveson was unable to capture the Indian fleet on account of the weakness of his squadron, half of his ships having been left behind at Plymouth owing to the want of sailors to man them.[2] Yet large numbers of these hardy mariners were at that time serving in private vessels, preferring the perilous expeditions into Eastern waters which held out hopes of speedy recompense, to the hard life, bad victualling, and small pay, which, through the malpractices of unscrupulous and worthless officials, were becoming the prominent characteristics of the Royal Navy.[3] The old Elizabethan admirals of integrity and honesty were now dying out. "Society" men, such as Fulke Greville, obtain control of the naval expenditure, Nottingham becomes a "mere cipher" in the hands of corrupt officials, and the "disease, which had been poisoning the whole system since Hawkins' incorruptible and able hand had been withdrawn by death, soon began to appear like health beside the lamentable prostration into which Mansell rapidly reduced it."[4]

(2) Monson's Naval Tracts.

(3) Ibidem.

(4) Corbett; 'England in the Mediterranean.' Mansell took over the office of Treasurer after Greville's retirement in 1604.

At Elizabeth's death the Royal Navy consisted of 39 men-of-war[5] and 4 galleys. Many of these vessels, in consequence of the war with Spain, were cruising off the coasts of France and the Iberian Peninsula under Sir Richard Leveson. The latter's adherence to the new succession was questionable, and Sir William Monson,[6] upon whose fidelity the Lords of the Council could rely, was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, in order to prevent trouble arising from Spain and elsewhere during the critical juncture which the death of Elizabeth was expected to bring about. Nothing, however, interrupted the peaceful accession to the throne of the Scottish monarch, and the Navy, like the rest of the Kingdom, unanimously acquiesced in the choice of the Privy Council.

James took his journey southward to London under the brightest of auspices, and was saluted at every stage by an enthusiastic display of loyalty and affection which exceeded his most sanguine anticipations. But the policy of the new monarch was very different from that of his predecessor. A confirmed opponent of war and of all things military, a firm believer in his own ability for ensuring the tranquility of the world by peaceful measures, rather than by the maintenance of a force capable of asserting his rights, a theological student with a knowledge that more often stamped him the pedant than the man of learning, a lover of the chase, whose delights made him more and more averse to the irksome

(5) Oppenheim; 'Royal Navy under James I.' Engl. Hist. Review, 1892. 42 vessels, says Monson's Naval Tracts, but this includes *The Tide*, which had no existence unless it was a vessel re-named.

(6) 1569-1643. Admiral of the Narrow Seas 1604-1616, Vice-Admiral under the Earl of Lindsey in 1635. Author of Naval Tracts, a work in six volumes.

duties of the Council Chamber, a man of weak character and vacillating mind whose hesitancy and duplicity earned him the name of "fraudulent trickster,"[7] such was the Monarch who now sat on the throne of the great Elizabeth, and whose guiding hand was to bring the State bark through a period of the gravest unrest and the most perilous of situations. It was a time when a strong Navy would have made England the arbiter of European politics; it proved, on the other hand, one of the most ignominious periods in English naval history, when respect for the flag, which had waved so proudly in Elizabethan days, was fast declining, and when ministers thought of little else than lining their pockets with ill-gotten gains and foreign gold.

One of James' first measures on assuming the Crown of England was to enter into negotiations with Spain, in order to bring to an end the struggle which had been going on with that state during the later years of Elizabeth's reign. The extravagant life he now led, which contrasted so forcibly with his mode of living in the poverty-stricken kingdom north of the Cheviots, together with the lavish profusion with which he scattered his income among worthless favourites, made the King seek means of retrenchment, and nothing seemed to him more conducive to economy than a peace with Spain, thus enabling him to decrease his navy and the expenses incurred by keeping at sea large squadrons of ships.

On June 23, 1603, a proclamation was issued recalling all privateering vessels,[8] and in the following July all Spanish prizes made within a month of Elizabeth's death

(7) Henri Quatre's remark on James. See S. P. V. Jan. 28, 1609. Ven. Amb. to Doge.

(8) Oppenheim; Royal Navy under James I.

were declared illegal.[9] These measures filled the Dutch and French with consternation. The former had already been trying their utmost to persuade James to carry on his predecessor's policy, but their own insolence, and the judicious distribution of Spanish bribes among the English and Scotch courtiers, brought the States nothing but a series of rebuffs.[10]

During the negotiations for peace with Spain, Monson was in command of the English fleet in the Narrow Seas,[11] and under his able direction the instructions issued to him "to maintain the honour of the English flag, and that superiority which was derived to him (James) from his ancestors in the British Seas,"[12] were faithfully carried out. As the Dutch saw the Anglo-Spanish negotiations gradually drawing to a successful issue, their insolence became more pronounced, and relying upon the enormous fleet of men-of-war which they could now put in commission,[13] they began to exhibit a want of respect, which their knowledge of England's growing

(9) S. P. V., July 7/17, 1603. Ven. Amb. to Doge.

(10) The Dutch had even offered to put themselves at James' disposal if he would consent to perpetual hostility to Spain. June 17/27, 1603. In another letter the Venetian Ambassador speaks of them offering James 80 men-of-war and 15,000 men against "Quoscumque," six hours after Elizabeth's death. S P. V., June 30/July 10, 1603.

(11) He took over the command from Sir Richard Leveson on July 1, 1604. The latter had been made Vice-Admiral in April, which gave him official rank above Monson. See Monson's Naval Tracts, p. XXXI.

(12) Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

(13) See letter of Ven. Amb., June 30/July 10, 1603. S. P. Venetian ; and on July 3/13, 1605, Molin, writing to his Government, speaks of the Dutch having more than 100 ships in the Channel. Ibidem.

weakness in naval administration constantly increased.[14] They sought to question the right which England had claimed for centuries, that every foreigner should dip his flag at the approach of an English man-of-war,[15] and their contempt for the King's prerogative on the ocean augmented in proportion as they found themselves capable of coping successfully with their Spanish foes without the help of English allies. But the firmness of Monson and his fellow-commanders, and their determination to maintain these rights, forced both France and Holland to acknowledge the claims, and the English flag continued to reign supreme in the Narrow Seas, much to the chagrin of Dutch and French statesmen.

The procrastination which the Spaniards were displaying in the peace negotiations was now fast tiring the patience of James and his Council.[16] But the King's urgent necessities and his low exchequer prevented him from unduly forcing Spain to accelerate her measures for concluding the treaty. Both France and the States were doing their utmost to break off the negotiations, but James was too much bent upon bringing them to a successful conclusion to heed the counsels and suggestions of these friendly nations, and in spite of his

(14) When the Archduke's Ambassador, Arenberg, sailed for England, he was followed by five Dutch ships, and only the presence of the English vessels prevented an attack. It was gall to the old Elizabethan Admirals to have this sort of thing continually occurring.

(15) The English had claimed the right for centuries. On this matter see Selden's 'Mare Clausum,' published in 1635, the answer to Grotius' 'Mare liberum.' N.B., also Sir John Burroughs' 'The Sovereignty of the British Seas.' 1633. V. 33582. British Museum.

(16) The expected fall of Ostend no doubt urged the Spaniards to prolong the negotiations and so obtain more favourable conditions.

secret agreement with Henry IV. of France,[17] he eagerly awaited the realization of his cherished hopes. Not even the insolence of the pirates, who had been growing all the bolder under a King who preferred the pleasures of the chase to the duties of his regal office, and whose number and depredations had begun to increase to an alarming extent, could turn James from his purpose. Though he knew that the country hated intensely the idea of peace with the bigoted Catholic monarchy, though it was obvious that the merchant service had steadily thriven during the long protracted war with Spain, and that, in consequence, its vessels, which were built like veritable warships, always proved a most serviceable addition to the Royal Navy,[18] the King, with true Stuart obstinacy, saw only one thing before his benighted gaze—visions of himself as the *rex pacificus*, and his exchequer eased of a heavy financial burden, which his prodigality and fondness for pleasures were tending to make almost insupportable.

But Spanish procrastination at length roused him to action, and doubtless thinking that such an act would produce an effect upon the commissioners, he set out for Rochester in July, 1604, and reviewed the fleet consisting of 37 sail and several private vessels.[19] On the 18th of the following month the treaty between

(17) See various letters of the Venetian Ambassador, S.P.V. 1603. July 15/25, Sept. 4/14, Nov. 16/26 ; also Lingard's History.

(18) From this time the merchant service deteriorated, owing to the little protection received from the Navy against pirates and foreign vessels. Fewer ships were built, it being easier and cheaper to hire vessels abroad for carrying merchandise. The number of seamen thus decreased, with consequent detriment to the Royal Navy.

(19) S. P. Venetian, July 10/20, 1604.

England and Spain was signed,[20] and James had the satisfaction of gloating over the success of his efforts, while the country bitterly realized the value of a timid and dissimulating monarch, and looked back with regret on the adventurous and enterprising age of his predecessor.[21]

But although James' pacific measures had given peace to England, and were followed soon afterwards by the signing of a commercial treaty with France,[22] the country reaped little substantial benefit from the King's unwarlike policy. His dealings with Spain had only made that state more suspicious of his intentions, and their great losses sustained in 1605 at the hands of the Dutch, which the Spaniards partly attributed to the English king's refusal to keep the open trade route to Flanders, caused the utmost irritation among Spanish statesmen.[23] But James' want of money, even if the inclination was strong, made him absolutely unable to keep an imposing fleet at sea, and the Dutch were left to continue their successful operations against their implacable southern foes, without the slightest molestation on the part of the

(20) Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

(21) Cecil said that the peace was signed simply because James was in straits for money owing to the late wars. S. P. Dom., Aug. 25, 1604. No doubt the Constable of Castille helped on negotiations, for he crossed to England, bringing with him £30,000 (in letters of credit) to distribute among the negotiators. See S. P. Venetian, Aug. 7/17, 1604.

(22) Concluded on Feb. 14/24, 1606.

(23) In June, 1605, the Dutch had defeated a Spanish squadron in the Channel. Four Spanish vessels escaped to Dover, and James was called upon to protect them and to send their crews in English ships to Flanders. After much disputation with Dutch and Spanish emissaries, James inclined to the former's wishes, but towards the end of the year the crews succeeded in escaping to Flanders under cover of long nights and stormy weather. S. P. V. Dec. 12/22, 1605.

English. Both Holland and Spain were now trying to raise troops in England for service on the continent, but James, unwilling to offend either state by a point blank refusal, secretly placed obstacles in their way, and in March, 1605, he even struck an indirect blow at the Spanish naval preparations, by issuing an edict recalling all English mariners serving under a foreign flag.[24]

This proclamation had come none too soon. Events were now taking place which might at any moment "let loose the dogs of war" and throw Europe into a state of bitter antagonism. English policy was giving much unrest to French politicians. Serious causes of friction had been constantly taking place between English and French merchants,[25] and the Gunpowder Plot had aroused all the old animosity of Elizabethan times against the Roman Catholics. Both Henry IV. of France and the Spanish monarch were accused of aiding, directly or indirectly, the machinations of the plotters, and the hasty return of the French ambassador to Paris,[26] coupled with the refusal of the Archduke to give up those conspirators who had taken refuge in Flanders,[27] irritated the English beyond measure. In addition to this, rumours got abroad that the Pope was on the point of excommunicating James,[28]

(24) S. P. D. March 1, 1605.

(25) The Venetian Ambassador, on Feb. 5/15, 1605, mentions the seizure of cloth at Rouen, in addition to libels on James which had been circulated in France, the French Ambassador's exclusion from a court festival in London, and the uncourteous treatment of the Duke of Lennox in Paris. S. P .V. Feb. 5/15, 1605.

(26) Molin to Doge. S. P. V. Nov. 11/21, 1605.

(27) Molin to Doge. Jan. 6/16, 1606.

(28) Ibidem.

and the exasperation of the nation became intense. Orders were issued to put a squadron of ships in commission, and the country eagerly looked forward to the outbreak of a war, which they fondly hoped would raise England's prestige once more, and humble the arrogant pride of the Catholic King. But James' innate love of peace, and his intense aversion to an increase in his expenses which would put him completely in the power of his Parliament, tended to smooth matters over considerably. The treaty of commerce with France, in 1606, assuaged the ruffled temper of Henry IV,[29] and the King cunningly appeased Spanish discontent at the expense of the Hollanders, by compelling all prizes coming into the Narrow Seas to be restored to their owners.[30]

During the early years of the Stuart régime the Royal Navy had thus been leading an existence of unworthy inactivity. Though slightly strengthened at James' accession, the fleet had, since 1603, been allowed to deteriorate, and under the administration of officials such as Mansell, who had taken over the Treasurership from the incapable Greville in 1604, and whose work was a "record of his unfitness for this important charge," the Navy had become but a shadow of its former greatness. Corruption and malpractices were rife, as well in the Lord High Admiral himself as in the humblest official, and posts were bought and sold in the most approved commercial fashion. Nottingham himself was merely a pensioner of the Spaniard, whose policy was to keep the English fleet either neutral or inactive, and the state of the vessels themselves was such that "the meanest

(29) For this treaty see Borely's 'Histoire de la ville du Havre' and 'Memoires concernant la marine française,' Cinq Cents Colbert, P. 176.

(30) Salisbury to Lake. S. P. D. Jan. 15, 1606.

merchantman is better rigged and canvassed than the Royal ships."[31]

"The Navy," writes Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, "has fallen off greatly from the days of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. when it consisted of upwards of 100 ships, fully manned and found, with officers on full pay, ready to put to sea in force at a moment's notice. Now it numbers only 37 ships, many of them old and rotten, and barely fit for service. I know not if this is the result of negligence or of a desire to save the money,—anyway, these few vessels and those of private persons and even foreigners, which the King could use on occasion, would be sufficient not only for defence, but to a certain extent for offence as well. These ships, scattered about the kingdom, represent a fleet of upwards of 200 sail, not counting the foreigners, nor would it be difficult to fit them out, for England is as well supplied as any country with artillery, powder, and arms, and more important still, is full of sailors and men fit for service at sea. It is true that if England remains long at peace, and does not make up her mind to keep up a larger Navy, and to stop the sale of ships and guns, which is already going on, she will soon be reduced to a worse condition. For the King does not keep more than three vessels armed, and that not as they used to be, and private individuals have no need to keep theirs armed, for the Crown is at peace, privateering forbidden,[32] the Indian trade half stopped, and people do not know what to do with their ships and so take to selling them, and their crews take to other business."[33]

(31) The Royal Navy under James I. M. Oppenheim. Eng. Hist. Review, 1892.

(32) Proclamation was issued on June 23, 1603. See Oppenheim, 'Royal Navy under James I.'

(33) State Papers Venetian. May, 1607.

Such was the state of the Navy prior to 1607, and though somewhat exaggerated in a few minor points, it faithfully describes the true condition of affairs as seen by an eye-witness of exceptional intelligence and of the keenest observation. No wonder that Spain was now pressing James to initiate overtures for peace in the struggle between themselves and the Dutch, though with their usual subtlety it was urged in James' own interests rather than in their own.

"For if peace is not made," said the Spanish Ambassador, "the Dutch will become masters of these seas, as they keep as a rule upwards of 100 armed ships in commission,[34] and although these are scattered about in various places, yet one may say with truth that they are masters in those very seas, for supremacy in which the ancient kings of England undertook long and costly wars with the most powerful monarchs of Europe."[35]

Subtle argument indeed, since Spain herself was in course of taking a step, which necessitated a free hand in the Mediterranean![36] Subtle argument indeed, when she knew that Henry IV's. "Great Design," aimed at herself, was making enormous strides!

Nevertheless, James turned a somewhat unwilling ear to Spanish insinuations, till he heard that the Dutch themselves intended making overtures for peace if France and England refused them substantial aid.[37] Henry IV. of France had already numerous complaints against the Hollanders, yet he had no desire to increase the number of his enemies at the moment when he was making his

(34) 50 of these were constantly about the Rock. See Neville Davis to Salisbury. S. P. O. April 9/19, 1606.

(35) Ven. Amb. to Doge. State Papers Venetian, May, 1607.

(36) Philip III. in 1609, had determined to expel the Moors from Spain.

(37) S. P. Venetian, November 20/30, 1606.

preparations for the great movement against the Hapsburg domination.[38]

Unfortunately for James, his hand was forced at a time when he little anticipated it. He learnt of the truce in process of being concluded between the States and the Archduke, and in his rage turned upon several of his astonished courtiers, and openly accused them of being corrupted by Spanish gold.[39] The disputes, too, between France and the Pope, and between the latter power and Venice, had been settled, and a general peace in Europe roused James at last to a consciousness of some mighty design brewing. On July 16, 1607, he despatched the *Lion's Whelp*, under Captain St. John, to the Irish coasts, to scour the seas in search of pirates,[40] whose depredations were a constant terror to the maritime population, and in the following month he gave out his intention of taking vigorous measures for raising money and for repairing and increasing the fleet.[41]

The inert monarch had at last realized the true state of the political world. Mistrusted by the Dutch King, posing as the peacemaker between Spain and the States, yet unwilling that the latter should obtain a peace on the basis of complete independence, dreading "the rise of Dutch trade and sea-power," yet being forced onward by his people's hatred of the Spanish nation to take joint action with Holland, at a time when the Dutch were causing great irritation by their proceedings in the question of fishing rights, harassed by complaints of the

(38) In one of his 'lettres missives,' dated January 10, 1607, Henry complains of the conduct of the Dutch at sea, and of their treatment of Rouen merchants, finally adding that he would be ultimately forced to take notice of the latter's complaints.

(39) S. P. Venetian, April 2/12, 1607.

(40) S. P. Domestic.

(41) S. P. Venetian, August 19/29, 1607.

insolences practised by pirates on British coasts, overwhelmed by the tidings that immense preparations were being made in Spanish and Italian ports, for equipping a formidable fleet whose destination was supposed to be Ireland, and by rumours of an alliance being formed between the Pope, Spain, the Emperor, and the Grand Duke, he found himself almost at his wits' end to know how to cope with the dangers that menaced his country on every side.

It was held at this time by many influential persons that England had lost a great opportunity, and that her naval power was declining as the result of the peace, while others regretted the rich gains of privateering.[42] James, in despair, took measures in November, 1607, for raising money at more than ten per cent, "the ordinary rate in this kingdom," and in the following May he appointed a commission to inquire into the state of the Navy.

The commissioners, among whom Sir Robert Cotton stands out in bold relief for his integrity, prolonged their investigations till June, 1609—purposely, no doubt, for they had matters of the gravest importance to sift,—and so damning was the evidence of corruption and malpractices, that the Earl of Nottingham, who was nominally at the head of the Board, never even attended a single meeting.[43] But nothing came of the inquiry, though James himself had the gravest suspicion regarding several officials, and though the greatest scandal and almost revolution were discovered in the naval administration.

The political situation was fraught with dangerous elements of extreme gravity. The conclusion of the

(42) Preface to State Papers Venetian, Vol. XI.

(43) Corbett: 'England in the Mediterranean.'

truce between the States and Spain[44] had set free the fleets of both nations to act independently, each in its own interests. The Spanish Navy was being "reorganized in order to set free the galleons of the ocean Guard for operations in the Mediterranean against the growing power of Ward and Danzer,"[45] two of the most redoubtable pirates of that time, and large fleets were being prepared for foreign service. The Dutch, taking advantage of James' embarrassments, and relying upon their well-equipped fleets, sought to encroach upon the rights of fishing which Englishmen for centuries had claimed as their own. Not a day passed without news being received of some fresh depredations by the pirates who were swarming round the British coasts. And to add still further to the confusion, the French were "aspiring to make themselves strong by sea," and were preparing to dispute the Eastern trade, hitherto enjoyed by the more maritime powers.[46]

James at last roused himself to a sense of his impotence. Early in the year 1608 orders had already been given for the despatch of the *Tramontana* to Ireland, to aid the *Lion's Whelp* in its search for pirates,[47] and a troop of 700 horse and foot crossed over in July from Chester at the urgent request of the Lord Deputy. In the following year, a proclamation was issued to uphold the exclusive rights of the English to the fisheries round the coasts, and requiring all foreigners to take out licences for exercising the trade of fishing in those seas.

(44) Concluded in March, 1609. S. P. Venetian, March 17/27.

(45) Corbett: 'England in the Mediterranean.'

(46) See S. P. Domestic, December 1, 1609. Beecher to Salisbury.

(47) The *Tramontana* arrived on March 15. It was a slow vessel and almost useless against the speedy pirate craft. See S. P. Ireland, May 19, and June 3.

The French, and more particularly the Dutch, keenly resented this assumption of ancient prerogative, but the firmness of the British ministers, and the determined attitude of Monson and his fellow captains, coupled with the enthusiastic support which James, and especially Prince Henry, were now lending to the restoration of the fleet, checked all tendency to interference from foreign states.

Nevertheless, all the efforts of the King would have been useless and ineffectual, had not the heir to the throne, by a whole-hearted and patriotic display of devotion to his country's interests, taken upon himself the task of infusing life into the dockyard administration. His noble example and praiseworthy efforts were not in vain. The gallant young Prince, the idol of his people, was never happier than when at Woolwich, and never so much at home as in its dockyard. Hence his association with Phineas Pett, the skilful and enterprising master-shipwright, and the salutary effect which it had upon the art of naval architecture and the development of this yard.[48]

In 1608, the construction of the *Prince Royal*, the largest vessel of the King's Navy, had been begun, and on August 13 of that year the Prince of Wales was at Woolwich, transported with enthusiasm and keenly interested in the building of the vessel. But the canker which was eating into the whole administration of the Navy was so firmly rooted, that even the utmost efforts of the youthful Prince were unavailing against the "dishonesty and peculation that reigned in every department." As an observer of that time remarks, "the Navy for the greatest part manned with aged, impotent,

(48) Records of Woolwich and District, Vol. 1, p. 229. (Vincent's extracts from Pett's Diary).

vagrant, lewd, and disordered companions, was become a ragged regiment of common rogues."[49] Nor was this surprising, for the service had ceased to be aught but a means of enriching a coterie of unscrupulous courtiers and cringing sycophants, who were for the most part pensioners of a foreign monarch, or flatterers of a weak and vacillating prince. And as if to increase still more the evil which had become a disease incurable, and to frustrate the almost superhuman endeavours which Prince Henry and the well-wishers of the Navy were strenuously exerting, in order to bring the service out of the chaos into which it had fallen, a quarrel broke out among the shipwrights at Woolwich, caused by the new designs and innovations which Phineas Pett had introduced into ship-construction. The dispute spread to the higher officers, and even to the courtiers themselves, and James was obliged, in May, 1609, to journey to Woolwich and settle personally the controversial points. For three whole days the case went on. The Earl of Northampton headed the side opposed to Pett, who was supported by Mansell, Trevor, Button, and others, and after a bitter and acrimonious discussion, the master shipwright, to the great delight of his patron, the young Prince of Wales, issued from the contest victorious and completely cleared of all imputations laid to his charge.[50]

But the want of money sadly hindered the work of restoring the Navy to a position, which could give it sufficient strength for upholding the dignity of the nation

(49) Robinson: 'The British Fleet.'

(50) In this dispute Northampton was severely rebuked by James, because he had re-opened the question after it had, as was thought, been finally settled. James' pride had been touched to the quick, as he had already expressed himself fully satisfied on the merits of the model of the new style of boat which Pett had constructed. See Pett's Diary.

and the heavy responsibility laid to its charge. The long peace was now having its deteriorating effect upon English commerce and upon English mariners. James' extravagance had enormously increased his debts.[51] His theory of the Royal prerogative and his Stuart obstinacy refused to allow him to come to any compromise with Parliament, and his efforts to meet his expenses by the system of benevolences did little to extricate him from the financial embarrassments into which he had fallen. One can scarcely blame the Parliament of 1607 for its condemnation of the peace with Spain, for it had "sapped not only in the Navy, but also in the mercantile marine, that ardour for the sea which was born of the great gains they made in the war."[52] The number of ships set out by the merchants had greatly diminished since the King's accession, hundreds of mariners were taking service with foreign states or had turned pirates, and were fast becoming a scourge to their own nation,[53] and trade itself was almost at a standstill. Nevertheless, though giving little personal encouragement to the mercantile marine, James was usually ready to be a figure head at any naval ceremony, and on December 30, 1609, we find him, with his Queen,

(51) His debts had risen from £400,000 in 1603, to £1,000,000 in 1608. The deficit in revenue was £70,000 annually. See also note to Lingard's Hist. of England, Vol. 9, p. 91, (Edition 1838), where he is stated to have given at different times to Lord Dunbar £15,262, to the Earl of Mar £15,500, and to Viscount Haddington £31,000.

(52) Eng. Hist. Review, Vol. VIII, 471.

(53) In State Papers, Domestic and Ireland, numerous instances occur of Englishmen turned pirates. On August 22, 1609, mention is made of 1,000 pirates on the Irish coast, and of hopes of persuading them to return to their allegiance. Prince Henry continually urged clemency for these men, trusting to see them take their places once more as sailors in the Royal Navy.

and the gallant young Prince of Wales, present at the launching of the great Indian ship, the *Trades Increase*, which far surpassed all former mercantile vessels in size and construction. The King was highly pleased with this newest addition to the Eastern fleet, and in his enthusiasm he presented a gold chain and medal to Sir Thomas Smith.[54] The sight of this noble vessel must have raised thoughts in the young Prince's mind of another large ship building at Woolwich for the Royal Navy, for in the following month, (January, 1610,) he was again at the Dockyard, seeing "what forwardness the ship was in, where I gave him and his followers entertainment."[55]

But the enthusiastic efforts of "the people's idol" were now at last to bear fruit. Stirring events on the Continent had once more turned the attention of English ministers to the state of the fleet, and the dangers with which Spanish preparations and Spanish intrigue menaced England were fast accumulating. The affair of Juliers and Cleves had broken out. All Germany seemed on the point of arming, and an European conflagration threatened every moment the peace of Europe. It was impossible for James to hold aloof even if he desired to remain neutral. The old question of religious toleration and of Protestant and Catholic antagonism was once more reviving, and England was looking with sympathetic eyes towards her co-religionists in Germany. James offers a force of 4000 foot to Neuburgh and

(54) Unfortunately this fine vessel of 1,200 tons did not prove a great success, and it had but a short-lived existence, being taken by the Dutch in the East some three or four years afterwards. See State Papers Colonial June 17, 1614.

(55) Pett's Diary. This ship was the *Prince Royal*, launched in 1610.

Brandenburgh,[56] and approves of the idea of an offensive alliance with the Dutch for an attack on the Indies, because "England had greatly diminished as a naval power, and had lost by making peace with Spain a great opportunity of enriching herself."[57] The Council, in April, 1610, issued an order for reviewing the Royal Navy, a measure so often taken when Spain was known to be making any naval preparations, authorization was given to several of the western ports to fit out ships against the pirates,[58] and the task of carrying out the restoration of the fleet and of completing the *Prince Royal* was vigorously pushed forward. The pacific monarch himself was persuaded to encourage by his presence the work in hand, and in June, accompanied by a numerous train, he repaired to Woolwich, whither the young Prince had preceded him, anxious to see the fine vessel which was rapidly drawing towards completion. The appearance of the man-of-war gave the King great satisfaction, for he "spent almost two hours in great content in surveying the ship, both within and without, protesting it did not regret him to have taken such pains in examination of the business of the work since the fruit thereof yielded him such content."[59] He then gave a special command that the launching should not take

(56) S. P. Domestic, Feb. 18, 1610. The Duke of Cleves died in 1609. The Elector of Brandenburgh and the Duke of Neuburgh's son claimed his territories. The Emperor took possession of the disputed lands, and the two disputants made common cause against him till Neuburgh quarrelled with Brandenburgh and went over to the Emperor's side. A compromise, however, averted war.

(57) Venetian Ambassador to Doge, S.P.V. March 29/April 8, 1610.

(58) But not against Spain. See S.P. Domestic, June 25, 1610.

(59) Pett's Diary, June 18, 1610.

place till he had finished his progress, and departed for London, doubtless hoping that the forwardness of the fleet might tend to diminish the strained relations between himself and his Parliament.

Meanwhile an event took place that stirred all Europe by its suddenness and by the grave consequences which it entailed. On May 14, Henry IV. of France fell dead under the knife of the fanatic Ravaillac, and with his death collapsed all those plans which he had so long been maturing for humbling the mighty Austro-Spanish power. James was profoundly moved by the news, and the numerous signs of regret that appeared on every side testified to the depth of sympathy that the murder evoked in England. A rumour got abroad that Spain had had no small share in the bloody deed, and affairs on the continent, consequent on the French King's death, urged James to further efforts in the Navy business. In September he was once more at Woolwich with a large train, accompanied by Prince Henry and the French Ambassador, ready to perform the ceremony of launching the *Prince Royal*, which took place on the 24th of that month.[60] During the ensuing months the young Prince was continually concerned about this vessel which had been named in honour of himself. On October 7, the Venetian ambassador comments upon this at length in a letter to the Doge and Council. "His Highness," he writes, "has shown solicitude and taken great pains that it should be built most carefully, even coming down himself to see that this was done. She (the vessel) has turned out a magnificent work for size, construction, and adornment of carving, painting, and gilding. She is of

(60) Unfortunately the King himself did not see the ship enter the water, as it got stuck and had to wait till the next day's high tide, before it was safely launched in the presence of Prince Henry. Woolwich Records (Vincent) Vol. 1, p.p. 244-5.

1,800 tons burden, and so built that she can hardly sink, even though pierced by the enemy's artillery. There are stands for 80 guns, but I am told that his Highness will not have more than 50, so that she may be lighter and more handy."[61] Prince Henry's eagerness to be at the launching made him take scarcely any rest, and during the night that followed the failure of the boat to take the water he was down again two hours before dawn, being resolved to be present when she entered the river."[62]

During the two years that preceded the second inquiry into the state of the Navy, the serious question of piratical depredations and the decline of trade which naturally followed, occupied the minds of James and his ministers.[63] The disease was growing to an alarming extent. The King's debts, too, were increasing, and no money was forthcoming to keep ships in commission. The mercantile marine, though possessing many fine vessels, was now fast deteriorating, and hundreds of hardy mariners, finding themselves without employment, went to swell the ranks of the freebooters. The Lord Deputy of Ireland was continually requesting ships for the protection of the Irish coasts, but the *Tramontana* and *Lion's Whelp* were the only aid to be obtained. The former was useless against the light craft of the rovers, as it was painfully slow and could be easily outsailed by every pirate vessel.[64] The *Whelp*, which in July, 1610,

(61) S. P. Venetian, Sept. 27,/Oct. 7, 1610. In Nicols. Vol. II. p. 365, note 6, the ship is given as of 114 ft. keel, 44 ft. cross beam, carrying 64 guns, and of 1,400 tons burden. Oppenheim, 'Royal Navy under James I.' speaks of her as of 1,200 tons, and adds that she proved ultimately a poor vessel.

(62) Ibidem.

(63) This question is more fully noticed in a subsequent chapter.

(64) L. Danvers to Salisbury. June 3, 1608. S. P. Ireland.

was the sole ship on the Irish coast, and which had but 60 men on board, was "too weak to grapple with the pirates."[65] In addition to this, the King's ships had to return home every three months to re-victual, which left the sea-board absolutely at the mercy of the foe. James had no ships at sea capable of dealing with the piratical craft, whose crews were constantly being augmented by discontented sailors from the Royal Navy itself.[66] But protests from the merchants were of no avail. They could only look on grimly, and see English sea-borne commerce pass into the hands of the Dutch. Nottingham could do nothing, for he was but a tool in the grasp of Mansell and his corrupt colleagues. James made a feeble attempt to equip some small ships to scour the seas, but the Lord High Admiral deprecated the despatch of a meagre force, and the want of money did the rest.[67]

In December, 1609, the Earl of Northampton had uttered loud complaints against Nottingham's neglect in suppressing piracy,[68] but the only reply to this was the order to victual the *Nonsuch* and *Lion's Whelp* for apprehending pirates in the Levant and for scouring the seas. Nevertheless, in order to give colour to the work of the Navy officials, estimates were issued in December of the following year for setting forth a 500 ton ship, for maintaining the Navy at Chatham, and for keeping ships on the British coasts. Early in 1611 the Council sent

(65) Chichester to Salisbury, July 19, 1610. S. P. Ireland.

(66) On March 3, 1609, Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, says, "Our mariners grow daily discontented, and we hear of 800 that have lately manned 5 ships, and do much harm in the Narrow Seas along the coast." S. P. Domestic.

(67) Yet on May 15, 1610, warrants were issued to pay Mansell sums not exceeding £5,700 to build a ship of 600 tons and to repair another. S.P.D. How much, we wonder, went into Mansell's pockets instead.

(68) S. P. D. Dec. 7, 1609.

word to Chichester "to concert measures for protecting timber in his Majesty's woods in Ireland, as timber is becoming scarce, and it is much needed for his Majesty's Navy."[69] Yet little was wanting to equip sufficient vessels for the extirpation of the pirates. A survey of the Navy in June, 1610, elicited the fact that, although most of the ships required repairs, the majority of the fleet were sound, serviceable vessels.[70]

How different from this is the case of the Dutch. As soon as the pirates made their nefarious practices tell upon Holland's commerce, a squadron of ships immediately put forth to sea, permission was sought from the English Government for seeking the freebooters in Irish harbours, and the English nation had the shame and dishonour of seeing a naval power doing "police work" in its very ports.[71] To such a state had the Elizabethan Navy with its glorious traditions fallen! And the two men who could willingly have changed all this were impotent and helpless. One, a veteran of the old school, was pining away in solitary confinement in the Tower;[72] the other, a mere stripling, whose aspirations led him to expect to replace the decrepit Nottingham as Lord High Admiral, and whose rival in the King's choice was his own brother, Charles,[73] could do nought but look on helplessly, while his father's extravagance and the rapacity of a group of corrupt officials were squandering the money assigned to the Navy.

(69) S. P. Ireland. January 1, 1611. Chichester was Lord Deputy of Ireland.

(70) S. P. D. June 29, 1611.

(71) S. P. Venetian. July 4/14, and S. P. Ireland, Sept. 6, and 30, 1611. Also Chapter IV. p. 85.

(72) Sir Walter Raleigh.

(73) Venetian Ambassador to Doge and Council. October 11/21, 1611. S. P. Venetian.

James now determined to use other measures for suppressing piracy. Early in 1612 he resolved to try and persuade the pirates to cease their depredations, by granting universal pardon to all those who were English subjects.[74] But his overtures were scornfully rejected by these bold sea-robbers. The King's own policy was now about to turn against himself. His ardent desire for peace with Spain had deprived these hardy mariners of a livelihood, and rather than starve, they preferred to take up the dangerous but lucrative life of robbery on the high seas. They all, therefore, laughed at the monarch's attempts to seduce them from their roving expeditions.

"I have no intention of obeying the orders of one king," was the haughty rejoinder of Eston, one of the most prominent among these buccaneers, on being informed of the Royal pardon,[75] "when I am, in a way, a king myself," and the British shores continued to resound more than ever with the bitter complaints of the maritime population.

On November 6, the Navy lost its warmest advocate in the person of Henry, Prince of Wales. Preceded, only a few months before, by the Earl of Salisbury, the young Prince succumbed to a malignant fever, though rumours were not found wanting that his death had resulted from other than natural causes. It was a bitter blow to the partisans of a strong navy, but a source of intense jubilation in Spain, and among those worthless English courtiers who were jingling with glee the crowns which Spanish cunning had so deftly distributed.

(74) In this he was supported by Prince Henry, who wished to see these sailors once more under the Naval flag of their own country, and fighting their country's battles. S. P. V. Jan 25 /Feb. 4, 1612. See also Note 53, p. 18.

(75) S. P. Venetian, Oct. 5/15, 1612.

The Navy had now fallen into so precarious a state that all shipping in 1613 was stayed till the Lady Elizabeth[76] had left the kingdom, and such was "the decay of navigation, that 2,500 mariners cannot be furnished without much ado."[77] Such humiliation was intensely galling to the King's pride. His own daughter could scarcely leave the kingdom as a Royal bride without showing the feebleness of "the bulwark of the nation," and the Elector had the mortification of noting the contrast between the well-manned, well-victualled Dutch fleet that met him as he proceeded to Holland, and the weak squadron that had escorted him from England's shores. In June, 1613, Nottingham's adversaries succeeded at last in getting the upper hand, and James was persuaded into ordering a commission to be appointed for inquiring into naval abuses. Frauds and malversation of the most damning nature were discovered, and Mansell,[78] in order to save himself from ruin, urged Whitelocke to take exception to the commission. This was done in a most contemptuous manner, Whitelocke even going as far as to attack the King's prerogative, "for which he stands charged, as does Sir Robert, for seeking undutifully to oppose His Majesty's proceedings."[79] James, ever mindful of his personal dignity, angrily ordered them to be incarcerated in the Tower.[80]

But the party of corrupt officials which rallied round Nottingham was too powerful to be shaken, even though

(76) Her marriage with the Elector Palatine had just taken place in April.

(77) Chamberlain to Carleton. S.P.D. March 25, 1613.

(78) Treasurer of the Navy. Whitelocke was another of the Navy officials.

(79) S. P. Domestic, June 13, 1613.

(80) Campbell, 'Lives of the Admirals,' says 'The Marshalsea.'

suspected by James himself, and an abject submission, coupled with the most ignominious confession of their misdeeds by the culprits, sufficed to induce the King to grant them pardon. Mansell and his guilty associate were reinstated in their former offices, and as if to show his renewed confidence in Nottingham's administration, the Royal Distributer of favours and pardons, accompanied by the King of Denmark who had suddenly arrived in England,[81] journeyed once more to Woolwich, in August, 1613, to inspect the *Merhonour*, then lying in the dry dock and almost finished, " which ship liked them wondrous well."[82]

The work of the Commission had proved an utter farce. The " cipher " and his obsequious followers continued their malpractices, so much the more strengthened by the knowledge that James' great desire for conciliating Spain prevented their sordid dealings with that nation from being divulged. Even Northampton could not refrain from uttering a cry of protest. The King had already lost £100,000 since the commission was appointed for discovering the frauds in the Navy. The merchants in earnest supplication send their petition to the Council, but "it is impossible to redress abuses in the Navy, whilst the pay is so much in arrear that the wives and children of the sailors are hardly kept from making outcries at the gate."[83] And all this time the pirates were harassing the British shores with their renewed depredations, the cry from Ireland and elsewhere for naval assistance remained unheard, and Nottingham's " evil genius, and the main cause of all the trouble, who stands without a rival in our naval history for malversa-

(81) He came to Somerset House, on June 22. Pett's Diary.

(82) Ibidem.

(83) Northampton to Lake, S.P.D. November 18, 1613.

tion in his office,"[84] was free once more to dip into funds assigned for the maintenance of the Royal Navy, and to enrich himself at the expense of the nation's one and only safeguard.

Would the Navy ever recover from the humiliating condition to which a feeble monarch and a clique of grasping officials had brought her? Were all those glorious traditions of Elizabethan times, for which thousands were now regularly sighing, never again to be revived? It seemed almost an utter impossibility to hope for any amelioration in the naval administration, for Nottingham still continued in power as Lord High Admiral, and Mansell, the source of all the ill, the staunch upholder of the system which was eating into the very heart of the Navy, had just left his prison, to be reinstated in his ancient post of Treasurer of the Navy.

(84) Sir Robert Mansell. Corbett: 'England in the Mediterranean.'

Photo:] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

FIGHT BETWEEN ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE SHIPS IN THE EAST INDIES.

(From a contemporary print).

CHAPTER II.

NOTTINGHAM AND NAVAL CHAOS. 1614—1619.

When James, in 1614, was being beseeched on all sides to act up to his motto *beati pacifici*, and was earnestly desired to mediate between several rival powers on the Continent, his elation knew no bounds. The quarrel which had existed between his favourite, the Earl of Somerset, and the Howards, the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton,[1] had been patched up by the latter's marriage with Suffolk's daughter,[2] and peace once more reigned in the King's immediate entourage. James was thus able to turn his eager gaze upon the European sphere of politics in anticipation of that universal peace for which he so passionately longed.

Well might he survey the horizon of the future with equanimity, for never had monarch been courted as he had been for the settlement of international disputes. The Queen-Mother of France, early in 1614, sought his aid to mediate between the discontented Princes and herself.[3] Suggestions emanated from the Archduke Leopold that James should intervene in the Juliers question.[4] Even from distant Muscovy came an earnest

(1) Robert Carr, made Viscount Rochester in 1611, and Earl of Somerset, Nov. 4, 1613. In 1614 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and Suffolk, Lord Treasurer. Dalton's 'Life of Sir Ed. Cecil,' p. 222. Note.

(2) Lady Francis Howard, the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex.

(3) Venetian Amb. in Spain to Doge and Senate. S. P. Venetian, March 29/April 8, 1614. The Ambassador adds that James wrote letters to the Princes on the matter.

(4) S. P. Venetian, June 3/13, 1614.

request to England, to exert her influence in order to persuade Sweden and Poland to listen to proposals of peace ;[5] and Denmark expressed her willingness to leave in James' hands the adjustment of her dispute with Lubeck.[6] Small wonder indeed that Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador in England, should exultingly rejoice over this pleasing state of affairs.

" Things could not be better than they are," he writes to his Government. " The authority of His Majesty cannot be greater than it is in Germany, and with all the others, the King of Denmark, Princes, and states of which I have spoken."[7]

Yet all this was but the prelude to the great struggle which was slowly but surely drawing to a head. Simmering and seething below the surface, the political whirlpool needed but little to set all Europe surging with fell war's alarms. The Archduke and the States were increasing their garrisons ; and in order to strengthen its hands towards the north, the latter power had made an alliance with Sweden, both offensive and defensive.[8] Denmark was collecting troops to send aid to Saxony against Brandenburg. Venice was operating a series of blockades in the Adriatic ; and Spain, harassed by rumours of Turkish hostile movements, and suffering immense losses from piratical depredations, was secretly concerting measures for supporting the Catholics in Germany. Added to this, that " arch-intriguer, and opportunist," Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, was being threatened from Milan and Naples, yet at the same time was seeking means to thwart the French plans for pro-

(5) Ibidem. March, 1614.

(6) Letters to Doge. S. P. V. Jan. 22/Feby. 1, 1614.

(7) Feb. 1/11, 1614. S. P. V.

(8) April 5, 1614, made at the Hague. S. P. Dom.

moting marriages between the Royal Houses of France and Spain.

In September, 1614, Spain was reported to have sent a great fleet northwards, with East Friesland as its destination.[9] That same month, news reached England of the capture of Wesel by Spinola, and of the occupation of the greater part of Juliers and Cleves by his victorious forces. Impotent and helpless, James and his Council looked on without being able to lift a hand in support of the duchies. Spain had gained another move on the political chess-board, while 'the wisest fool in Christendom' was cursing both his want of money and the Parliament which obstinately refused to grant him further supplies for his extravagant whims and caprices. James did indeed turn his thoughts to war when he heard of the capture of Wesel, and even went so far as to threaten to prepare several Royal ships. But it was merely an empty threat. Gondomar[10] chuckled grimly to himself as he saw the Royal fly hopelessly ensnared in the Spanish web, and the treaty of Zanten[11] put the crowning touch to Spain's successful schemes by leaving Wesel, the fruits of her victorious policy, in Spinola's power. And the navy of England, which, if kept in sound condition and thrown into the balance, might have put a check upon Spanish preparations and thwarted all Philip's plans, was in no condition to cope even with the pirates infesting British shores, much less to undertake

(9) On Sept. 9/19, the Ven. Amb. in England reported that many vessels were seen off the English coast, drawing towards the Low Countries. And on Sept. 20/30, Contarini, Ven. Amb. in France, wrote that Spain had sent 70 sail (60 or 38 according to other accounts) to East Friesland, to occupy Emden. S. P. Venetian, 1614.

(10) Spanish Ambassador in England (Don Diego Sarmiento).

(11) Concluded in Nov: 1614.

foreign service of greater import. "For practical purposes it remained useless," and James, whose imbecile extravagance and obstinate conceit had been one of the chief causes of naval deterioration, was playing into the hands of his "dear brother of Spain," and allowing Philip to reap the reward of his diplomatic dexterity.

It was a disastrous blow to England's pride to be thus unable to take active measures. Not even the increasing insolence of the Dutch[12] and French could rouse James to take action, and the exchequer was so empty that the King could scarcely meet his barest private expenses. A Parliament had been called in April, 1614, but only to be dissolved within two months of its opening, owing to the unanimous hostility and suspicion it evinced to the King's proceedings. Failing thus to obtain any subsidies, and hoping to persuade the Dutch to repay the debts owing to England since Elizabeth's days, James reluctantly entered upon an agreement with the States concerning the Greenland and East Indian trade. Early in 1615 commissioners from the two nations were appointed to settle the terms of the treaty. It was no easy matter to bring the King to consent to wage offensive war with Spain in the East, but the Dutch commissioners held firmly to their proposals and James finally yielded to their demands.[13]

While events in Europe were thus in a state of anxious uncertainty, and no one could tell when the war cloud

(12) The Dutch made no secret of their determination to prevent the English from so much as "peeping into the Moluccas," and the French had stayed numbers of English merchants at Dieppe, knowing the inability of England to resent this, though they themselves possessed at this time no fleet at all. See S. P. Venetian, Feb. 3/13, 1615.

(13) James' reluctance was natural, for Gondomar was now whispering in his ear suggestions concerning a marriage between Charles and the Infanta.

hovering over Germany through Spinola's continued occupation of Wesel would burst, the Privy Council had at last been brought to despatch a small squadron of vessels to the isles of Scotland. Rumours had reached London of the depredation of some pirates on the northern shores of Britain, and Sir William Monson, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was sent to hunt out these insolent freebooters and bring them to justice.

On May 14, 1614, the Admiral left Margate Roads with four ships and reached Leith on the 23rd following. Stopping here but a short time to take pilots on board, he immediately steered for the Orkney Islands, on hearing that the pirates had been seen in those parts. But his hopes of making a clean sweep, once for all, of these pests were doomed to disappointment. The pirate ships, which rumour had exaggerated into a fleet of 20 vessels, consisted of but two small barks, one of which was commanded by a man named Clarke, a former boatswain of Monson's own vessel. Leaving Sir Francis Howard, his second-in-command, to guard Orkney, the Admiral pursued the pirates to Shetland and thence to the Hebrides, where he found the inhabitants exceeded "the savages of America in brutishness and uncivility." But ill-success dogged his steps among the western islands, and Monson, who had no liking for petty expeditions of this kind, and who would willingly have preferred to steer his course for the Channel to watch French and Spanish cruisers, bitterly cursed the Government that had sent him on a fruitless errand, and had thought "that two of the ships of His Majesty should be hazarded on so slender an occasion as the pursuit of so few petit pirates."

In no nice frame of mind he continued his quest, but "betwixt those islands and Ireland, he met with so great a storm and ground seas, that it were fit only for a poet

to describe. Of four vessels he had in company, one was swallowed up in the seas, the other three were separated and saw one another no more till they met in England."[14] The Admiral now bore up for Broad-Haven,[15] and on his arrival succeeded by a cunning stratagem in obtaining information which led to the capture of the pirate crews.[16] The pirate captain had written a letter to a Mr. Cormat, a gentleman of those parts, asking for information concerning the King's ships, and requesting Cormat to send him two oxen. This letter the Irishman, fearing to offend Monson, had delivered up to the Admiral, who immediately caused an answer to be despatched forthwith, stating that his ship was but a merchant vessel and that he would instantly send away the required cattle.

"Then understanding," writes the author of the Naval Tracts, "that at the end of the river where they lay, and not above seven miles from him, there was a nook of land two miles in breadth that parted it from another river, which opened itself into the sea over against Enescey,[17] where the pirates lay, Sir William kept his design secret from the Irish, who, he knew, would not much further his design against pirates, and

(14) Monson's 'Naval Tracts.'

(15) In County Mayo.

(16) Monson at first had posed as a pirate, Captain Manwaring by name, and had been heartily welcomed by the inhabitants with much feasting and rejoicing, three of their principal men even coming up to their armpits in water on his arrival, "striving who should have the credit to carry him ashore." But after enjoying their hospitality, and receiving strong proofs of their dealings with the pirates, he turned upon them, and sternly reproved them for their nefarious intercourse with the freebooters. Naval Tracts, p.p. 227-8.

(17) Inishkea Island, "Seven leagues to the South of Broad-Haven." Ibidem.

with the help of his own company, on a sudden took so many of those Irish, as drew his boat and another overland; and having recovered the next river, with no little astonishment to the Irish, they were to row thirty miles to the place designed for the fire to be made.[18] Having pulled hard to be at the place by midnight, as soon as the boat arrived, they kindled a fire, and by the time they conjectured the pirates' boat might be ashore, who, they made account, would weaken the ship of so many men as she could carry, they rowed off with speed, and came within sight of, and surprised her before they could be suspected, which did so much amaze the pirates, that they had not power to resist, but yielded like so many wolves caught in their own snares."[19] The Admiral took summary vengeance on the leaders, and if we may believe his own account, the harbour of Broad-Haven was ever afterwards carefully avoided by the marauders whose depredations led them to frequent the Irish western coasts. On the 12th of July, Monson came to Vintry,[20] and from thence to Berehaven,[21] from which place he sailed to Plymouth, reaching the western port on the 1st of August. On the 10th of that month he once more cast anchor in the Downs, "after fetching a circuit round his Majesty's three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland."

This was Monson's last cruise during the reign of James I., and "the last year but one he served on the Narrow Seas."[22] After a career honourably spent in his

(18) Monson, in his letter, had instructed the pirates of his intention of making a fire, to enable them "to observe his directions." Naval Tracts, p. 229.

(19) Ibidem.

(20) Near Dingle Harbour, Dingle Bay.

(21) In Bantry Bay.

(22) He was appointed Vice-Admiral, under Lindsey, in the fleet set forth in 1635.

country's service, the Admiral had the misfortune to incur the hostility of James and his favourite, Buckingham. He had already, by his apprehension of Arabella Stuart on her passage to Calais,[23] offended the mass of the English people, and in 1616 he was arrested and committed to the Tower on a trumped-up charge which, however, he had little difficulty in refuting. After a brief imprisonment he was released, and was soon afterwards in 1617, found offering his services for the expedition then preparing for the destruction of the Algerine pirates.

The year which saw two of England's stoutest sailors under the Royal displeasure,[24] saw also her prestige at almost its lowest point. James was now fast becoming a mere tool in the hands of Spain. Gondomar, that prince of intriguers and diplomats, had already asserted his ascendency over the King's weak and vacillating nature, and this supremacy he was able to maintain the more easily, by continually holding out as a bait to the English monarch the realization of the latter's dearest hopes, a marriage between the Royal Houses of England and Spain. Nothing was done in London without being almost immediately known at Madrid, and even the English Ambassador in Spain was not free from suspicion. A more ignominious state of affairs had scarcely ever existed in the annals of English history.[25]

James, who had sworn never again to assemble Par-

(23) April 25, 1613. Monson's Naval Tracts. (Dict. of Nat. Biography says June, 1611).

(24) Monson and Raleigh.

(25) The Venetian Ambassador reported in Decr., 1615, that Gondomar had brought with him about £100,000 to distribute among the courtiers, and that Philip had copies of all papers of the English Ambassador, Cornwallis, "though through whom was a question." S. P. Venetian. Decr. 21/31, 1615.

liament, was at his wits' end to know how to obtain money for his immediate necessities. In order to satisfy his most pressing wants, he gives up the cautionary towns to Holland for one-third of their value,[26] but even this disgraceful proceeding brought him little solace, while it added greatly to the already intense odium into which his foreign policy had brought his Government. No attempt was made to restore the Navy. The pirates continued their depredations on the coasts, and nothing could induce the King to protect the maritime population by operations on any extended scale. The merchants had over and over again petitioned for something to be done, and had even consented to defray the cost of an expedition, if only they might receive some return for the expenses entailed, but nothing could move the lethargic monarch.[27] Gondomar was ever at his side, and it was Spain's determination to keep the English ships rotting in harbour rather than let them take the sea. Yet all this time James was threatening to support Savoy in its struggle with Milan, though he knew full well the utter impossibility of despatching any aid to that quarter.[28]

Trouble was also brewing with the French Government. The marriages celebrated in 1615 between France and

(26) Brill, Flushing, and Rammekins were given up on payment of one-third of the debt of 8 million florins. S. P. D., Murray to Carleton, May 23, 1616.

(27) In October, 1615, the merchants of the two companies had determined to arm vessels to extirpate the pirates. Nottingham, and even James, had given their assent, but after a decision upon the proportion of spoil which each party should receive had been arrived at, the project ultimately fell through. S P. V. Oct. 21/31, 1615.

(28) Winwood, on being questioned by the Savoy Ambassador as to the possibility of sending English troops to Savoy by sea, remarked that it was useless to furnish two or three ships, and impossible to send a fleet. S. P. Venetian, Sept. 20/30, 1616.

Spain had quite "hispanified" the Court of the Queen-Mother, Marie de Medicis, and Hay's embassy had totally failed to bring about harmony between the two crowns.[29] England could get no redress for grievances recapitulated in July, 1616,[30] and the Spaniards profited by their truce with Holland and their hold upon James to further their own designs in Italy and the Mediterranean. To all Savoy's reiterated demands for aid England turned a deaf ear,[31] and Gondomar chuckled with inward satisfaction as he remarked the success of all the intrigues which his country had done its utmost to foster, and which had turned out so well to Spain's great contentment.

In spite of the great losses experienced at the hands of the pirates; in spite of the difference with France and especially with the Dutch respecting commercial relations and fishing rights, the country had maintained, since James' accession and the conclusion of peace with Spain, a steady progress in mercantile affairs such as aroused the wonder and admiration even of foreigners. In September, 1613, the Venetian Ambassador could scarcely repress his amazement at the extent of the merchant fleet in England. Large numbers of fine ships

(29) The English Ambassador, Edmondes, left Paris in Dec., 1616, much suspected by the French Government owing to England's relations with the discontented princes. S. P. Venetian, Dec. 10/20. 1616.

(30) These points were (1) refusal to appoint conservators to settle disputes in trade as agreed by treaty in 1606, (2) increase of taxes on Bordeaux wines, (3) no compensation for an East Indiaman wrecked on the French coast and plundered to the extent of £70,000, (4) importation of paper for making cards prohibited. Robert Bell to Winwood, S. P. Dom., July 19, 1616.

(31) James would only allow Savoy to obtain powder from England, and that, too, in small quantities through Burlamachi, so unwilling was he to offend Spain. S. P. Venetian, Nov. 22/Dec. 1, 1616.

were lying at the principal ports, 43 at Bristol, 98 at Newcastle, and as many more, he was informed, farther down the Tyne. The men, too, who manned the ships, were the same daring and resourceful sailors as of yore, with the same love of adventure for its own sake.[32] The ships, too, were little less than men-of-war in build and construction. The war with Spain in Elizabeth's reign had demonstrated the necessity of trading vessels being utilized for warlike purposes, and the merchants had constructed their vessels of such dimensions as to make them serve as well for combating an enemy as for carrying the products of the East.[33] But the long peace was now exerting its baneful influence even on the mercantile marine. The inactivity of the Navy had put hundreds of sailors out of employment, and these hardy seafarers had either taken to piracy or gone to augment the navies of foreign powers. Merchants, too, were finding it cheaper to hire vessels abroad to carry their goods, and shipping had in consequence so decayed "that in the year 1615, things were come to so strange a pass that there were not 10 ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of London."[34] Efforts were made to correct this, and Trinity House endeavoured to persuade the King to forbid trading in foreign vessels. But this so roused the ire of the merchants that they successfully petitioned against such a procedure, till an incident in 1616 forced them to acknowledge the necessity of a proclamation for prohibiting the transport of merchandise in foreign craft.[35]

(32) Preface to S. P. Venetian, 1613.

(33) The *Trades Increase*, which James launched in December, 1609, was of no less than 1,200 tons burden. S. P. D. December 30, 1609.

(34) Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals,' p. 108.

(35) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 300.

"Two ships, each of the burden of 300 tons, came into the river Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders. They saw now that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they set out; and that if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our Commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this and laid it before the King and his Council, upon which a proclamation was issued forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms."[36]

James' need of money had now become so pressing that he found himself constrained, in 1615,[37] to release Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower. That "gilded bird," who had been languishing in prison for some eleven years, had so excited the King's imagination by his vivid descriptions of some gold mines in Guiana, of which he alone possessed knowledge, and had so impressed the Royal mind by his importunity, and by his repeated declaration of the ease with which he could obtain enormous wealth from this "El Dorado," if only the King would supply him with the ships necessary for the enterprise, that James consented at last, though with seeming reluctance, to allow the attempt to be made.

For nearly two years Raleigh was busy making preparations for his voyage, and overcoming the innumerable obstacles with which his enemies, both private and public, were impeding his every step. Even James himself, on several occasions, was on the point of forbidding the expedition, so harassed was he by Gondomar's continual reiterations that Raleigh's exploit

(36) Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals,' Vol. II, p. 108.

(37) Note to Rapin's Hist. of England, p. 195.

would break off all negotiations for Charles' marriage with the Infanta, an union upon which the King had so dotingly set his heart. But James succeeded in calming the envoy's nervous apprehensions, which were not indeed without foundation,[38] and the old Elizabethan sailor was at last enabled to complete his preparations without let or hindrance.

On March 28, 1617, Raleigh's fleet, consisting of seven good ships of war and three pinnaces exceedingly well-manned and victualled, and containing some six or seven hundred men,[39] set sail on its disastrous voyage to the coast of Guiana. A few days later it was joined by six other vessels under Captain J. Keymis, and the whole fleet of thirteen ships, after being delayed from various causes at Plymouth till July,[40] and kept a further seven weeks off the Irish coast by stormy weather, left Cork on August 19, taking a westward course for the Canary

(38) For James, so skilled in duplicity, it was no difficult task to appease Gondomar. See note 42. But there were other causes that gave the Spanish envoy greater apprehensions. James at one time had almost been persuaded to allow Raleigh's ships to join some of the Royal vessels, which had commenced to arm for a projected expedition to the Mediterranean. Savoy had been intriguing in England and Holland for ships to capture Genoa, "Spain's treasury," and James was supposed to be not averse to the project. But with the hopes held out by the Spanish marriage ever before his eyes, it is doubtful if he at any time gave serious attention to the matter. Might it not have been another move to still further entangle Raleigh in questionable practices?

(39) Carew's Diary, June, 1617, S .P. D. The ships were the *Destiny*, 440 tons. *Jason*, of London, 240 tons, Capt. J Pennington. *Encounter*, 160 tons, Capt. Ed. Hastings. *Thunder*, 150 tons, Sir W. St. Leger. *Flying Joan*, 120 tons, Capt. J. Chidley. *Southampton*, 80 tons, Capt. J. Bayley. *Page*, pinnace of 25 tons, Capt. J. Barker.

(40) Ewald says he left Plymouth in the second week of June. 'Studies re-studied' (Historical sketches) p. 183.

Islands. Here Raleigh took in provisions, and an ample certificate from the Governor that he had behaved with great justice and equity, and then sailed for Guiana, where he arrived early in November, hoping to do something "if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish King by his Ambassador, has not taught the Spanish King to fortify all the entrances against us."[41] But Raleigh's suspicions were only too well justified. The implacable Gondomar had already informed his Royal master of the purpose of the voyage, and to that cause may undoubtedly be attributed in a great measure the ill-success of this unfortunate enterprise.[42]

During most of the time that Raleigh lay off Guiana he was sick, and was in consequence obliged to entrust the task of seeking the mine to Captain Keymis. On Dec. 5, five ships were ordered to enter the River Orinoco, and search for the "El Dorado" which Raleigh's imagination had located there. The town of St. Thomas was taken and plundered, but Raleigh's son was slain in the encounter, and Keymis, after vainly trying to land from the ships,—an utter impossibility owing to the shallowness of the stream, and, where this was practicable for landing, because of the ambushes of

(41) See Oldys' 'Life of Raleigh.'

(42) James himself showed his animosity to Raleigh and his eager desire to please Spain by one of the most disgraceful acts of duplicity imaginable. If we may believe Raleigh's own words, in his letter to Winwood of March 21, 1617, "It pleased His Majesty to value us at so little as to command me, upon my allegiance to set down under my hand the country and the very river by which I was to enter it, to set down the number of my men, and burden of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried, which, being made known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him sent to the King of Spain, a despatch was made, and letters sent to Madrid before my departure out of the Thames."

the Spaniards—returned in despair to the Admiral, who reproached him for having wounded his credit with the King past recovery. Poor Keymis could not outlive this reprimand, and by a self-inflicted death Raleigh lost one of his most faithful followers some few hours after their painful interview.

Trouble and insubordination now arose in the fleet. Raleigh did his utmost to quell all disturbances, but without success, and in reply to the reiterated cries of his crews that the expedition should return to England, the Admiral was compelled, sorely against his will, to turn the prows of his vessels homeward. After touching at Newfoundland and losing sight of the rest of the fleet, the unfortunate Raleigh reached Plymouth in June, 1618, and in August following found himself once more a prisoner in the Tower, this time to remain in durance vile till he was summoned to take his trial before his implacable accusers, and finally to mount the scaffold. Strenuous efforts were made in his behalf, but all to no purpose. James, whose reign "was a continual course of mean practices,"[43] had already decided upon his death, and with *piratas, piratas*,[44] ringing in his ears, he signed the death warrant of the last of those great Elizabethan seamen, who had made the Spaniard tremble with their daring exploits and fearless courage. On October 29, Raleigh suffered death, and by this act the "plaything of Spanish perfidy" fondly hoped he was giving one more proof of his devotion to Philip's policy, and thereby bringing nearer his realization of a marriage on which he had so fondly set his heart.

(43) Bishop Burnett.

(44) Gondomar had been among the first to inform James of Raleigh's attack upon St. Thomas, and in his excitement and rage could scarcely utter aught but "Piratas, piratas," when he entered the Royal presence. See Oldys' 'Life of Raleigh.'

Though James had now just given a sure and convincing demonstration of his Spanish inclinations, and was content to let English merchants complain of immense losses in the Mediterranean,[45] without lifting a finger to help them, events were now fast drawing to a head, of which he could no longer be a passive spectator. For the first time in her history, England was about to launch herself forward on a career of naval expansion, in a quarter which hitherto she had considered outside her sphere of action. And this was brought about, not by the diplomacy of politician, nor by the intervention of armed force supported by the united efforts of a strong government, but by the action of a few merchants, aided by an ex-pirate.[46]

Since 1611, when he was appointed Viceroy of Naples and Sicily, the Duke of Ossuna,[47] by his restless ambition and his ceaseless efforts to raise a navy, had put the nations bordering on the Mediterranean in a state of almost continual anxiety. His untiring energy and his implacable hatred of Venice had brought him into conflict with that state, and the latter's apprehension became still more acute, when the successful entrance of Count Ernest of Nassau's Dutch squadron into the

(45) "The pirates grow so powerful that if present order be not taken to suppress them our trade must cease in the Mediterranean Sea." Winwood to Carleton. June 4, 1617. S.P.D.

(46) Sir Henry Mainwaring.

(47) Don Pedro Tellez Giron, 3rd Duke of Ossuna, was born in 1575. After serving as a volunteer in the Low Countries, chiefly in the naval squadron under Spinola's brother, Frederigo, he was appointed Viceroy of Sicily in 1611. His restless nature kept the Mediterranean States, especially Venice, apprehensive of his designs, but his boundless ambition finally made him suspected at Madrid, and he was recalled in 1621 and imprisoned. He died a prisoner in 1624.

Mediterranean in 1616,[48] forced the Spanish Government to see the uselessness of the old-fashioned galley, and to allow Ossuna to build broadside vessels, and thus form the nucleus of a fleet on modern lines by its "official recognition of a Naval revolution, to which for years it had so obstinately shut its eyes."[49]

Ossuna took full advantage of this permission with the utmost alacrity, and his active preparations for forming a fleet capable of coping with the large naval force possessed by the Venetians instantly alarmed this latter power. Messengers were sent from Venice to the ambassadors in England and Holland, desiring them to seek a number of stout vessels and to despatch them to the Mediterranean with the utmost speed possible. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in England, set about his task with all diligence and haste, but his efforts were greatly hindered by the unceasing intrigues of Gondomar. At the slightest signs of activity in English naval circles Spain's suspicions were immediately aroused, and much more so now when a secretly hostile nation was seeking ships from the two largest naval states.[50] In Holland, the Venetian Ambassador experienced great difficulty in collecting a squadron of twelve ships for service in the Mediterranean. Nor was it otherwise in England.[51] The mercantile marine was

(48) Corbett, 'England in the Mediterranean.' This fleet had been despatched by Holland to aid, if necessary, either Savoy or Venice.

(49) Ibidem.

(50) Although Spain and Venice were at peace, (the treaty between Spain, Venice, the Pope, and the Empire had been signed in 1617) Ossuna, secretly urged on by Spain, had continued to wage an unofficial war with Venice. Corbett, 'England in the Mediterranean.'

(51) Ossuna, too, was seeking ships in England for service

only just beginning to recover from the deterioration which, in 1615, had been at its lowest point, and when Contarini surveyed the Thames, he could only find two ships suitable for his purpose and adapted for war service. But he persevered in his quest, preferring to obtain ships in England than to seek them elsewhere. He even tried to get some of the Royal Navy, which were rotting away, "24 first raters, each like a fallen colossus, shut up in a ditch of stagnant water, disarmed and abandoned, a prey to the rage and injuries of the weather," but without success. He at last managed to charter seven vessels, though he could have obtained some Dutch ones cheaper, but "the English," he said, "being held in infinitely greater account by reason of the strength of their build, the quality of their guns, and their crews which yet more excel all other nations in battle, I did not choose to part with them."[52]

In March, 1618, the little fleet[53] was ready to set sail, and on the 20th of April, after a brief delay in the Thames, and in spite of the terror which Gondomar had spread among the owners by circulating the news that forty Spanish ships awaited their vessels off the Straits, the squadron left Gravesend.[54] A stormy passage of some four or five weeks brought the fleet safely to the Straits, and towards the end of June it anchored off the

against Venice, and had already despatched agents thither for the purpose of hiring some, besides detaining several vessels in Neapolitan ports. S. P. Venetian, Feb. 17/27, 1618, *inter alia*.

(52) Contarini to Doge. S. P. Venetian, Feb. 20/March 2, 1618.

(53 The fleet consisted of the *Royal Exchange*, of 300 tons, and 26 guns, *Centurion* and *Dragon*, each of 250 tons and 22 guns, *Hercules*, *Abigall*, *Amaden* and *Matthew*. S. P. Venetian, Feb. 28/March 9, 1618.

(54) The Dutch contingent sailed about a fortnight after the English squadron. See S. P. Venetian, May 2/12, 1618.

coast of Corfu, having made the voyage without let or hindrance from either corsair or other foe.[55]

So by the irony of fate, a small squadron of English merchant vessels under a commander of little note,[56] was laying the foundation of the power, which England in after years was to obtain in that important field of action, the Mediterranean, while a great sailor and adventurer was slowly and mournfully making his way once more to those shores, where disgrace, followed by an ignominious trial and death, was awaiting him.[57]

While Raleigh was thus going to his death, and Peyton's little squadron was hoisting sail for the Mediterranean, and opening that new era which English enterprise was destined to render so glorious, the

(55) It was otherwise with the Dutch. Their squadron fell in with 10 ships and 2 caravels belonging to Spain, and on the 24th of June, after a sharp fight, beat off the enemy and forced them to retreat. S. P. Venetian, June 27/July 7, 1618.

(56) On April 8, the Ven. Ambassador mentions Sir John (Henry) Peyton as the commander, but on April 4, he says the *Royal Exchange* was to be the flagship, and Captain Daniel Bannister, its Captain, to be in command of the squadron of 7 vessels. S. P. V. April, 1618. But see June 18/28, where Peyton is mentioned as Captain-General. Mainwaring accompanied the expedition as a private person.

(57) It is interesting to follow the proceedings of this small squadron of ships lent to Venice. On July 1/11, the squadron was inspected in the Curzola Channel, and greatly disappointed the Venetian Commissioner, who thought the ships were to be of greater tonnage. In the following month, a mutiny broke out among the English sailors owing to their treatment by the Venetians, and several of the mutineers were hanged. The occurrence aroused the greatest indignation in England, and it was only when profuse apologies and explanations came from Venice that the affair was hushed up. The ships shortly afterwards left the Venetian fleet in disgust, and engaged in their old commercial enterprises once more.

lethargic James was at last roused to turn his attention to the Royal Navy.

It was indeed time. The depredations of the pirates had increased to such an alarming extent, that even Gondomar, with all his diplomatic skill, failed to prevent James from giving heed to the numerous complaints of the merchants. To so deplorable a state had the mercantile marine now come, owing to the unhampered freedom which the pirates enjoyed in the Narrow Seas, that the merchants unanimously resolved to endure it no longer.

In April, 1617, they asked for six of His Majesty's ships to form part of a squadron which they decided upon raising, and they offered the Earl of Southampton[58] 40,000 crowns if he would consent to take command. But Southampton was of the old Elizabethan school, and it was useless to expect Spain to sit quietly by, while one who held sacred the traditions of Drake and Hawkins was afforded the means of repeating the exploits of those daring spirits. Obstacle after obstacle presented itself to the enterprise, due principally to the intrigues of the ever watchful Gondomar, and to that 'Achilles of the Spaniards,' Sir John Digby,[59] and James was finally brought to refuse the loan of the Royal ships unless his

(58) See also Chapter IV., p. 87, Southampton died in the Low Countries, in 1624.

(59) On July 2, 1620, the Ven. Ambassador writes that two persons were sent in disguise to reconnoitre Algiers, but when the affair reached the ears of Lord Digby, 'the Achilles of the Spaniards at this court and a man of great ability and sagacity,' the latter vigorously opposed the plan. The following year Digby himself went to Madrid, and after a short time spoke of the readiness of Spain to join the expedition with 20 ships. Spain's diplomacy had gained another point. No English Royal fleet sailed to the Mediterranean till Mansell's expedition of 1620, and Ossuna was free to continue his projects against Venice. S. P. Venetian, 1620.

own officers took command. In consequence, the merchants withdrew their offer to defray part of the expenses of the expedition. The Dutch, too, who had held out hopes of co-operating with the merchants, were slow in moving, and the King himself, whose debts had been increasing to an enormous extent, refused to facilitate matters by convening a Parliament. It seemed as if nothing would intervene to extricate the Navy from the chaos into which it had fallen.

But two incidents in March, 1618, once more raised the hopes of the merchants, and at the same time caused Gondomar and the Spanish party much nervous anxiety. The King requested the city loan for another year, and gave order that a commission should be appointed to take a survey of the Navy, and examine the abuses in the Administration.[60] How far this was owing to Spanish preparations,[61] and to the course events were

(60) It is interesting to see to what an extent these malversations had reached. Oppenheim in his 'Royal Navy under James I.' says that Mansell gave himself 30s. per day, whereas Greville in 1599 got but 16s. 8d. He constantly ordered timber to be paid for over and over again, making about £5,000 by this means. He, with Pett and Trevor, owned a trading ship, which was entered for Nottingham's journey to Spain and paid for, without at all forming part of that embassy. The travelling expenses of officials were enormous. The comptroller once allowed himself £9 for a journey to Chatham from London. A meeting of officials on another occasion cost the Treasury £47 for their journey to Chatham to survey the Navy, yet two of them actually lived on the spot, and when Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, crossed in 1613 to Flushing, the cost of pilotage for the five ships amounted to no less than £208 12s. 10d., whereas that paid for Philip of Spain's coming to England, in 1557, when the fleet was 22 days at sea, was only 8 shillings.

(61) This seems scarcely probable, as at this time Gondomar's ascendency over James was at its height, the desire of Spain to keep the English Navy inert or neutral only too well known, and

taking in Germany, and which ultimately led to the bloody warfare that devastated the centre of Europe for a generation; or to the ascendency which Buckingham, who aspired to replace Nottingham at the head of the Navy, now exerted over the King, it is difficult to judge. That handsome but profligate courtier had long wished to direct the naval administration, and it required little persuasion on the part of Mansell to urge him to supplant Nottingham in the office of Lord High Admiral. Sir Lionel Cranfield, another of Buckingham's supporters, vigorously seconded the Treasurer's efforts to influence the Duke, and the all-powerful favourite, who, according to many authorities, really had the interests of the Navy at heart, exerted his power over James so successfully that the Commission entered upon its duties before the end of March, 1618.[62]

The long régime of Nottingham and his unworthy subordinates had at last reached its final stage. Their exit, however, did not bring with it the punishment commensurate with their deserts. While some of the officials were superseded or sequestered, others were bought out or even pensioned, and Mansell, prince of peculators and embezzlers, was made Lieutenant of the Admiralty for life.[63] Could anything prove more conclusively the weak-

James himself considered the marriage negotiations so far advanced as to sign 5 preliminary articles for the marriage this same year. He had also released large numbers of Catholic recusants from prison.

(62) The Commission consisted of Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Lord Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex, Sir Richard Weston, Sir J. Wolstenholme, Nicholas Fortescue, John Osborne, Francis Gofton, Richard Sutton, William Pitt, John Coke, Thomas Norris, William Burrell, with Sir Thomas Smythe. See Charnock. The date of the Letters Patent was Feb. 12, 1619. Clowes, in his 'History of the Royal Navy,' calls Weston, Sir Thomas.

(63) S. P. Dom. May 14, 1618.

ness and corruption of the Government, than this last act by which it rewarded an officer who had been the main instrument in the decay and ruin of the nation's only safeguard? Buckingham, who began his intervention in naval affairs by buying Nottingham out,[64] now lent his great influence to the reforms initiated by the Commission, and a thorough investigation of the malversations and general decay in the service ensued. The commissioners themselves, though not entirely free from the corruptive tendencies of the age,[65] nevertheless honestly endeavoured to sweep away the abuses which had long tainted the naval service, and their efforts soon showed unmistakable signs of progress and improvement in the administration.

Towards the end of September, 1619, the Naval Commissioners presented their first report to James. Their resolve to reduce the expenses of the Navy from £56,000 to £30,000 per annum, without in any way decreasing its efficiency, filled the King with great joy. At the same time they expressed their determination to build two new ships each year, and to commence immediately repairing those that were "rotting" in the Thames and elsewhere. In November of the same year they gave further satisfaction, by requesting that the monthly allowance of £900 paid for cordage and arrears of Mansell's last account, should be applied to pay discharged workmen, to further the two new ships in dock at Deptford, to lay in provisions for the following year, and to begin preparations for new docks at Chatham, besides other

(64) He paid a large sum of ready money, with the promise of a pension of £3,000 annually; and, after Nottingham's death, of £1,000 yearly to the latter's wife, and £500 to his eldest son. Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Dom. Oct. 24, 1618.

(65) See Oppenheim's 'Navy under James I.'

(66) Th. Murray to Carleton, S. P. Domestic. October 1, 1618.

things of minor importance.[67] The work of regeneration was at last begun.

Of the 43 ships which were on the Navy list, fourteen were unserviceable, three had no existence though payment had been made for them, and three others were useless till repaired. Nineteen other ships were supposed to have been built, yet only six had been finished, and the substantial addition to the Navy between 1603 and 1610 was the *Nonsuch*.[68] It was now resolved that a minimum of 30 vessels should be maintained till the full number of 40 had been reached, by the addition of the two ordered to be built each year. Everything was put on a regular business basis, and each member of the Commission registered a determination to keep strictly to the letter of their programme.

Such were the improvements in the Navy which the Commissioners took upon themselves to effect, and it was no empty words that Donato, the Venetian Ambassador, used towards the end of 1618, when he remarked that "the ships of His Majesty are more beholden to the merchants than to the King himself." For the Commission itself was for the most part composed of business men, and it was as much with the merchant's, as with the official's eye, that these commercial magnates who formed the majority among the commissioners regarded the ships of the Royal Navy.

Once more a ceaseless activity began to reign in the naval dockyards, once more keen hopes of repeating the exploits of Elizabethan mariners appeared on every side, and so well did Cranfield and his colleagues set about their task, that the former, on Nov. 17, could write to Buckingham that everything was in excellent course of

(67) S. P. Dom. Nov. 4, 1618.

(68) Oppenheim's 'Royal Navy under James I.'

progress, "for the business of the Navy we follow it daily, wherein we find all things do succeed better than we could hope."[69]

It was indeed time. Stirring events on the Continent had brought home to Englishmen the stern necessity of a strong navy, and no one could say with truth that the time was far off when the work of the Commissioners would be put to a severe and terrible test.

The Fisheries' dispute with Holland was occupying the minds of the Privy Council, and the Thirty Years' War had already broken out.

(69) Fortescue Papers (Camden Society).

CHAPTER III.

BUCKINGHAM AND THE "GRAND COMMISSION." 1619—1623.

Although the Commission of 1618 was at first intended to be temporary, it was finally "established in 1619 as a permanent system for the Government of the Navy."[1]

The utility of such a step was more than justified. Under the administration of Nottingham and his unworthy subordinates, the very existence of the nation had been menaced with irremediable disaster, to such a deplorable state had the main defence of the realm been brought. Men trembled, and with reason, at the thought of another Armada sweeping majestically up the Channel, but their anxiety would have given place to absolute terror if they could for one moment have imagined such a contingency, at a time when the realm was without its "wooden walls," and when no kindly hurricanes were at hand to make up for deficiencies in the naval forces. In '88 there were numbers of brave merchantmen to call upon in times of danger, merchantmen which were almost men-of-war in themselves. In 1615, such a merchant fleet was almost non-existent, for the feeble naval policy of a pedant had only too surely stamped its impress upon maritime affairs, bringing the prestige of the Navy, as well as that of the nation itself, almost to its lowest point.

Of the 25 ships which formed the first line of naval defence, "few could safely go further than Plymouth,"[2] yet

(1) Holland's 'Discourses of the Navy.' See also February 2/12, 1619. S. P. Venetian.

(2) See S. P. Domestic, Vol. 256, 16 ; also Sir Ed. Harwood to Carlton, January 30, 1619.

the infatuated monarch, who, like his contemporary, Louis of France, preferred the pleasures of the chase to the labours of the Council Chamber, and who had such a "horror and disgust for business,"[3] listened to the brilliant sallies of the facetious Gondomar with increasing interest, and at the same time saw his own son-in-law dispossessed of his states with the calmness and equanimity of the casual onlooker.

It was time indeed that the Commission should produce a change, else England was doomed to fall to a position to which her bitterest enemies would scarcely have consigned her in the fulness of their animosity and vindictiveness. At the time when the Commissioners took over their onerous duties, England was brought face to face with difficulties, which only tactful diplomacy and the most careful treatment could successfully adjust. Spain had become suspicious of the determination of the English Government to dispatch a fleet to the Mediterranean for the purpose of extirpating the pirates. Distrust between the French and English Courts had increased to so alarming an extent, as to necessitate the withdrawal of their respective ambassadors.[4] In addition to this, the Dutch had persisted in their insolent attacks upon English commerce, especially in the East Indies, regardless of the fact that their truce with Spain was

(3) Donato to Ven. Govt. S. P. Venetian, Dec. 16/26, 1618.

(4) S. P. Venetian, Nov. 20/30, 1618. The English, too, resented the introduction of Cardinal Rochefoucauld into the French Cabinet. S. P. Venetian, Sept. 22/October 2, 1618 ; and the Raleigh incident had further increased the ill-feeling between the two nations. This latter was occasioned by the French Secretary in England, Leclerc, who had intrigued to get Raleigh out of prison and take him over to France. See S. P. Venetian, March 2/12, 1619. England's siding with Prince Maurice against Barneveldt, too, had not helped to decrease the mistrust between France and herself.

now approaching its expiration, and England's aid might be of infinite value to them when that event occurred.

Reports of conflicts between Dutch and English fishing fleets off the Greenland coast were continually being circulated throughout the realm, and the Venetian ambassador, in August, 1618, commented upon this with an uneasiness of mind that foreshadowed some future calamity.

"This dispute," he said, in a letter to his Government, "coupled with others which have chanced lately at sea between these two nations, renders them daily more and more exasperated against each other."[5]

Bitterly indeed were all true patriotic Englishmen regretting the glorious days of Elizabeth's reign. Their quondam allies, who were wont, with submissive plaint, to solicit their aid against the Spanish tyrant, were now profiting to the full by the deterioration of the English navy, and the resignation of the English monarch to the dictates of Spanish diplomacy. But the Dutch insolences, coupled with the advent of the Commission and its success in extricating the naval service from the chaos into which it had fallen, at length forced the King to realize the gravity of the situation. His inclinations to Spain, and the hope of a Spanish marriage which was ever before his infatuated mind, might incline him to shut his eyes to Spanish intrigue, but it was quite different in the case of the Hollander. James' regard for the Dutch had never been excessive, and their ever-increasing commerce, contrasting so forcibly with English commercial decline, intensified the dislike with which the King had long been possessed for this virile and active nation.

In November, James gave directions that reprisals were to be taken against the Hollanders,[6] and on October

(5) S. P. Venetian, August 14/24, 1618.
(6) S. P. Venetian, Nov. 6/16, 1618.

26, he narrowly missed capturing two richly-laden East-Indiamen carrying cargo to the value of more than a million. Orders, too, were issued to attack all Dutch ships coming from the Indies, and in consequence of these measures, the Dutch were at length brought to request that Commissioners from both states should be appointed to settle the points in dispute. Towards the end of 1618, the Dutch representatives met the English Commissioners deputed by James to discuss the matter, but the King's continual vacillation and refusal to declare for or against the merchants irritated them beyond measure.

"As they" (the merchants), writes Donato, the Venetian ambassador in England, "have enough ships, money, and men to make a powerful fleet in a few months, and this joined with the Dutch would help them to make great acquisitions in the Indies, damage the other's (Spain's) fleet, and obtain quantities of gold, they are very dissatisfied at the coldness of His Majesty, and much more so at the behaviour of his infatuated courtiers."[7]

But mutual concessions on both sides softened all resentment. James had already decided upon setting out a fleet for the purpose of punishing the Algerian pirates, and to facilitate the execution of his project he earnestly desired the co-operation of the Dutch. The latter nation, on their side, wished James to enter actively into the conflict, which was, at this time, threatening to break out in Germany, and they now thought better than to range him against them on the expiration of the truce with Spain, which had scarcely two years to run. The negotiations were prolonged till the summer, and were finally brought to a successful conclusion by the treaty

(7) S. P. Venetian, Dec. 24/Jan. 3, 1618

of June 2, which was ratified in the following month.[8]

James now feels himself free to turn his attention to his projected expedition against the pirates, and by his spasmodic attempts at encouragement, he inspires the Navy officers with greater zeal and energy. And what encouragement did they not need! "For sixteen years that he has been King of England, they have never knocked a nail into any of the Royal ships, or so much as thought of such things," writes an eye-witness of that time;[9] and it would need many months incessant toil to get each "fallen colossus" into a condition which should fit it for the southern voyage. During that time, what might not happen! The sequel was as dramatic as it was at first considered impracticable. Spain once more exerted her influence over her "plaything." Her ally, Ferdinand of Styria, had found himself almost reduced to extremity by the attacks of the Bohemians and that "Mithridates of the North," Bethlem Gabor, and had only succeeded in extricating himself from the great danger in which he was placed through Bucquoi's masterly skill. Spanish policy was therefore compelled to make England neutral at all costs, and with true Iberian cunning, Philip consented to do what he had so often previously refused,—request England to co-operate with Spain in a joint expedition against the pirates.[10]

(8) By this treaty the English could trade freely with the Indies and enjoy half the advantages derived by the Dutch and themselves. In the Moluccas they obtained one-third of the profits, paying a third of the expenses. For three years they were not to claim any place in the Moluccas for fortifying, and 20 ships were to be maintained by the two nations in union. S. P. V., June 20/30, 1619.

(9) Ven. Amb. in England to Doge. S. P. Venetian, Feb. 4/14, 1619.

(10) S. P. Venetian, June 18/28, 1619, where the Ven. Amb. in Spain says, "They (the Spaniards) see that the English are

Spanish diplomacy and English submissiveness had each attained their utmost limit. James tries to atone for his weakness in yielding implicitly to Spain's demands by renewing the treaty, made in 1612, with the Protestant princes, but the election of Ferdinand as Matthias' successor more than compensates for this move, and the wily Gondomar, aided by the Spanish inclinations of Digby,[11] does the rest. No further resistance is interposed by Spanish intrigue to the preparations, already far advanced, of the English fleet for service in the Mediterranean, and the elated James urges on with feverish haste the work of setting forth the ships. In November, 1619, he personally goes down to Deptford, to congratulate the Lord High Admiral[12] and the Commissioners on their management of naval affairs,[13] and at the same time, in order to give a practical proof of his absolute submission to the desires of His Catholic Majesty, he feigns displeasure at Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian throne, and refuses to be drawn into declaring himself for the German Prince.

The preparations for setting out the fleet for Algiers now proceeded apace. Sir Robert Mansell was appointed to the chief command, with Sir Richard Hawkins, that "personification of all the finest traditions of the Elizabethan service," as his Vice-Admiral, and the

stronger than the Spanish in every way, with better and larger ships, much better armed, with better men, and far more numerous. They desire the junction here, to divert the English from attempting anything to their prejudice."

(11) The Venetian Envoy in England writes, on March 20/30, 1617, that Digby's "inclinations were just as Spanish as if he had been born as subject of the Catholic King." S. P. Venetian.

(12) Buckingham had received the grant of this office on January 28, 1619.

(13) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Domestic, Nov. 13, 1619.

King, who loathed the idea of convening a Parliament for the purpose of replenishing his empty exchequer, raised a loan of £10,000 from the merchants at the enormous rate of ten per cent. But this scarcely sufficed for James' actual needs, and money became so scarce that a breach was made in the assignation for the maintenance of the navy which course was "likely to bring all back to the former confusion."[14]

Meanwhile affairs in Germany had reached so acute a stage, that only the obstinate refusal of the King to regard events there through any but Spanish glasses, and the "Hispanophile" proclivities of his Council prevented the true state of things from being openly avowed. Ferdinand had recovered from the dangerous position to which the Bohemians and Bethlem Gabor had reduced him, and was now taking the offensive against the Elector and his generals. Spanish troops were massing on the frontiers of the Palatinate, and the newly-crowned King of Bohemia, terrified by the presence of these troops near his hereditary dominions, sent in urgent haste to request aid from his father-in-law.[15] The States and the German Princes refused to move unless they could count upon assistance from the English Government,[16] and the Princes of the Union even went so far as to hint that they would make peace with the Emperor, if James continued unwilling to declare on their behalf.[17]

The tension was extreme. Everything was cast into the balance, and no one could conjecture with certainty

(14) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Domestic, Feb. 26, 1620 .

(15) Dalton's 'Life and Times of Sir Ed. Cecil,' p 317. James refused to budge, saying he was only called upon to assist the princes "in a defensive war for religion."

(16) S. P. Venetian, Jan. 22/Feb. 1, 1620.

(17) R. Woodward to Sec. Windebank. S. P. Domestic, May 22, 1620.

what might happen. Rumours spread around that James was at last resolved to declare for Frederick, and people were already rejoicing over the long-desired despatch of the fleet to Antwerp, when a man landed in England "of tall, meagre stature, with a longish visage, and a close, austere aspect, which made his open and jocose humour so much more taking, that 'tis said, he could perfectly ravish the heart of our Caledonian Solomon with the little jests, tales, and fables he would so readily apply upon all occasions,"[18] and reached London early in March, 1620.[19] Can one wonder that the partisans of the Elector Palatine trembled for the success of their cause? Gondomar had arrived, ready to resume once more his triumphant course in the paths of subtle diplomacy, and within two months of his coming the whole aspect of affairs was completely changed. Through the Spaniard's secret artifices, Dohna, Frederick's ambassador, who had come to negotiate for a loan and the aid of troops, was met with nothing but refusals.[20] The French ambassador, too, received a severe rebuff during the festivities held to commemorate the King's accession,[21] and a renewal of the fishing disputes between England and Holland threatened to break out.[22] Philip could indeed congratulate himself on being well served by this prince of ambassadors, who had

(18) Note to Oldys' 'Life of Raleigh,' p. 210.

(19) S. P. Venetian, March 8/18, 1620.

(20) He had come to negotiate a loan of £100,000 from London and a body of 4,000 troops. See Dalton's 'Life and Times of Cecil,' p. 320.

(21) S. P. Venetian, March 31/April 10, 1620. According to the Venetian Ambassador he tried to get recalled, and so to renew the ill-feeling between England and France, owing to this rebuff which was given him on the question of precedency between himself and Gondomar.

(22) S. P. V., March 17/27, 1620.

so thoroughly earned the newly acquired title with which the Spanish monarch had just invested him.[23] James and his favourite became once more mere pawns in the hands of this skilful diplomatist, whose slightest whisper on the question of the marriage between the Royal Houses of England and Spain was sufficient to silence any scruples that the old monarch might possess, and the partisans of Philip in the English Privy Council again asserted their supremacy. All the aid that James could bring himself to render to his luckless son-in-law, was a meagre detachment of 2,000 men under Sir Horace Vere,[24] and the despatch, in April, of Sir Henry Wootton to join the French ambassador in a vain endeavour to arrange an amicable settlement between the Emperor and Frederick. Useless labour indeed, for that unfortunate prince was already on the point of losing his lately-acquired dignity, and, what was still worse, Spain and Maximilian of Bavaria, with Ferdinand's sanction, had even now secretly determined upon the partition of the Palatinate.[25]

"If James," writes an old historian, commenting upon these proceedings, "whilst he sent this ambassador, had armed by land and sea, and put himself in a condition to strike terror, his remonstrance doubtless would have been hearkened to, and his mediation perhaps accepted."[26] But like most of his embassies, owing to the loss of prestige which England now had long ex-

(23) He had just been made Count of Gondomar.

(24) Afterwards Lord Vere of Tilbury. He distinguished himself in the service of the States and the Elector Palatine. Died May 2, 1635. Dalton's 'Life of Sir Ed. Cecil.'

(25) Maximilian, later on, conquered the Upper Palatinate, and was invested by Ferdinand with the electoral dignity for life.

(26) 'History of England,' Rapin de Thoyras. (Tindal's translation).

perienced on the Continent, this last one of the "Caledonian Solomon" was received with the accustomed polite but frigid attention.[27]

During the summer of 1620, the work of fitting out the fleet proceeded but slowly, "the Lord High Admiral being more anxious for glory than skilful in obtaining it, owing to his youth and inexperience."[28] Certain irregularities were being found in the naval administration, and the captains appointed to the squadron were for the most part venal, and of little rank and authority. On July 4, Buckingham wrote to Digby and Sir Robert Naunton[29] that three ships were still wanting to complete the full number for the expedition, and Trinity House was required to levy £1,000 yearly for supplying and furnishing these additional vessels. The movements of the Spaniards were being narrowly watched, and with good cause, for though Spain was suffering immense losses from the depredations of the Turks and Algerines, suspicions were rife that their fleet was rather intended for northern waters than for co-operating with the English naval contingent.[30]

(27) This was the usual greeting for many years to English intervention under James and his successor. "For fifty years after the accession of the House of Stuart," says Wakeman, "England became merely a diplomatic voice in Europe to which nations courteously listened, but paid no attention." 'The Ascendancy of France,' p. 12.

(28) Venetian Ambassador to Doge, S. P. Venetian, June 13/23, 1620. But Lando was scarcely fair here, as outside James' well-known lack of funds, there was a distinct purpose in his proceeding slowly with the work. Spinola's doings were being all this time carefully watched, and, as will be seen, no sooner had he begun to move than the fleet was made ready to sail with the utmost haste possible.

(29) Made Secretary in place of Sir Ralph Winwood, Jan. 1618.

(30) S. P. Venetian. June 29/July 9, 1620.

Towards the end of July news reached the Council that pirates were once more doing great damage round the British coast, and more attention was paid "to the arming of the twenty vessels."[31] Men from the Cinque ports were being pressed in large numbers, but although the destination of the fleet was kept a profound secret, and conflicting rumours were abroad as to the ultimate aim of the expedition, the observant eye of the Venetian ambassador was not to be deceived.

"The ships," he writes to his Government on the 30th of July, "will be all sheathed as a protection against the toredo and the worms; this shows that they are to pass the Strait and to sail in the Mediterranean; such precautions not being necessary in these seas or in others where similar dangers are not encountered."[32]

Had he but read the subtle mind of the Spanish envoy, he would have received confirmation of his suspicions. That astute Spaniard watched the preparations going forward with an inward chuckle of satisfaction, and all the more so when he perceived that no soldiers were being carried on board, and that the captains themselves were of little repute,[33] a circumstance which somewhat consoled him in the midst of his nervous apprehension and mistrust, respecting the fleet preparing in Dutch ports, which the Hollanders had resolved to despatch to the Mediterranean against the pirates, but with instructions to act independently of the English operations.[34]

It was a difficult role that Gondomar had to play, lulling thus to sleep any tendencies England might have of suspecting the good faith of the Spanish government,

(31) For the Algiers expedition.
(32) S. P. Venetian, July 20/30, 1620.
(33) S. P. Venetian, Lando to Doge, August 10/20, 1620.
(34) Corbett's 'England in the Mediterranean.'

and well indeed did he acquit himself of the task. But the King and his Council were not the passive spectators of the continental affairs of this time that many have supposed them to be. Though Gondomar had succeeded in his original plan of keeping the English fleet neutral, both he and his royal master were still of opinion that the expedition would never set sail in a southerly direction, and in consequence the Spanish squadrons had been recalled to home waters, to lay up for the winter.[35] But they had this time reckoned without their host. Owing to this false security in which they had placed themselves, the Spaniards had despatched certain secret instructions to Spinola, which the latter was now about to carry out.

On the 8th of August the thunderbolt fell. The Spanish general, with his orders to wage war upon all the supporters of the dispossessed Elector now made public,[36] began his march into the Lower Palatinate, and within a few days of the receipt of this news in England, James, who had already obtained intelligence that the French King's hands were tied by his journey to Bordeaux to quell the rebellion in the south of France, ordered Mansell to set sail. On October 12, the English fleet weighed anchor, and by the end of the same month the whole squadron of 18 vessels had entered the Straits. So for the first time in her history England had ploughed the waves of the Mediterranean with the keels of her Royal Navy, and had thus firmly planted her feet in that highway of the ancient world, which had seen the death struggle of so many maritime powers, and which she herself was henceforth to contest with European rivals,

(35) Ibidem.

(36) Spinola had the effrontery to open these sealed orders in the presence of the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Edmondes, who had accompanied the Spanish general on his march.

before attaining the supremacy she was destined to hold for so long a period.[37]

While Mansell was thus doing police work for a nation, which at that very time was trying its utmost to trample upon the nearest of kin to his own monarch, events both in England and Germany were giving rise to the gravest apprehensions. James was completely under the influence of Philip's sagacious minister, and was looking on, with almost criminal indifference, at the campaign in Bohemia, which ultimately drove his nephew to take refuge in Holland, a fugitive and an exile, and almost dependent upon that nation for the very existence of himself and his family.

But not for long could Spinola's victorious advance be regarded with unconcern. Much as James desired the consummation of his dearest project, the marriage with Spain, he could scarcely sit tamely by, while his own daughter, with her husband and children, was a wandering exile in a foreign land. With great misgiving and reluctance he summoned a Parliament in January, 1621, and in his speech from the throne, he adopted a conciliatory tone which contrasted very noticeably with his former haughty, imperious rebukes. But although in the Navy he had "abated £25,000 per annum," and hoped shortly "to abate £10,000 more;" though he "was induced to enter into a particular survey," and his "young Admiral" took the envy of all upon himself, and "appointed under himself divers Commissioners, as a young commander should do, the better to preserve himself from errors"; and though furthermore "he had spent already £40,000 upon pyratical wars," the men to whom his words were addressed thought of little else than of abolishing the system of monopolies then pre-

(37) The account of this expedition is reserved for the following chapter.

valent, and with the verdict passed against Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell still ringing in their ears, they granted the King only two subsidies amounting to £150,000.

What a crumb to one whose debts alone were close upon a million pounds ! And the Council of War, which had been appointed in January, 1621,[38] to look into the affairs of the Palatinate, was even then deliberating upon the question of maintaining an army of 25,000 foot and 5,000 horse.[39]

In April, 1621, the truce between Spain and the States expired.[40] In the following month the Princes of the Union, despairing of receiving any aid from James, disbanded their army, and the Dutch, filling once more the seas with their immense flotillas, and preying upon Spanish shipping with unrelenting severity, did not scruple to make little distinction between the ships of their inveterate foes and those carrying the English flag. To such a pass did their insolence come that Mansell was summoned home from the Mediterranean, and the merchants themselves were now raising piteous complaints against the cruelties and ill-treatment, which their ships were suffering at the hands of the Hollanders.

" The East India Merchants," wrote Sir Dudley Digges to Carleton, " are very anxious to shake off their conjunction in trade with the Dutch by the treaty now on foot ;[41] the English are very ill-used there (in India), and are so exasperated that a rupture is inevitable, un-

(38) They consisted of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Leicester, Viscount Wilmot, Lords Danvers and Cranfield, Sir Ed. Cecil, Sir R. Morrison, Capt. Bingham, R. Lisle and E. Sackville. The two last replaced Vere and Conway, who had gone with the contingent of troops to Germany. Dalton's ' Life and Times of Sir E. Cecil.'

(39) S. P. Venetian, Feb. 2/12, 1621.

(40) Made in 1609.

(41) Made on June 2, 1619.

less the States send over some impartial men to join with the merchants in the treaty."[42]

On the day that these words were penned, four Royal ships and four merchantmen had arrived from the Mediterranean, and they had come none too soon.[43] A report that the Royal vessels were about to attack the Dutch East India fleet by way of reprisals[44] soon brought the Hollanders to book, and commissioners were immediately appointed to satisfy the demands of the English East India Company.

In September Mansell and his squadron returned to the Channel, and immediately warrants were issued to pay off six of his vessels. The results of the expedition had been insignificant, but the effect upon English prestige had been truly disastrous. James' reputation was now lower than ever on the Continent, and though, as a well-known writer has said, "the true significance of Mansell's fleet was recognized in all the Cabinets concerned; the Spanish ambassador indeed seemed to measure his success by his power of controlling its action and its energy,"[45] yet it can scarcely be denied that England, by her naval operations in the Mediterranean, had safeguarded Spain's interests in diverting the pirates from Spanish merchantmen, while, on the other hand, her failure had made these pests of the seas so contemptuous of her naval prowess, that the damage

(42) S. P. Domestic, Aug. 9, 1621. At the end of December, the Muscovy Company decided upon deserting their Greenland trade, owing to losses at the hands of the Dutch, and to other causes. S. P. Domestic, 1621.

(43) See p. 98. Note 62.

(44) The Dutch, since the expiration of the truce with Spain, had maintained a strict blockade of the coast of Flanders, and their searching of English vessels caused much irritation among the merchants.

(45) Corbett's 'England in the Mediterranean.'

already experienced at their hands by English traders bade fair to be repeated.

Nevertheless, in spite of the heavy losses which the Merchant Companies had sustained from pirates and Dutch alike, they were required, in the Autumn of 1621, to continue their contributions to the Navy, and "to set forth such ships as shall be in proportion to those now sent by the King to the Narrow Seas."[46]

It was like adding insult to injury. But the Council would brook no delay. The Upper Palatinate had been lost, and the Lower was already being attacked by overwhelming forces. On October 10, orders were issued to prepare ships for service, and the merchants were severely reprimanded for their dilatoriness in contributing to the Navy funds. All round the coast the unprotected state of the seas demanded the promptest action on the part of the naval authorities. No less than 57 ships had been captured during the preceding twelve months, the "late expedition having done nothing but irritate the pirates," and to increase still further the embarrassments which the empty exchequer had contributed to bring upon him, James angrily dissolved the assembly which alone could extricate him and the nation from the chaos into which they had plunged.[47]

This last act of James was a disastrous blow to the Navy Commissioners. Amid all their faults and the prevailing vices of the age, which even their genuine desire for naval reform was unable to prevent them from contracting, Cranfield and his colleagues had made most praiseworthy efforts to reform the Navy. The dissolution of Parliament, therefore, severely handicapped them in

(46) Council Order. S. P. Domestic, Sept. 15, 1621.

(47) Parliament was dissolved on Jan. 6, 1622.

their vigorous measures for maintaining an efficient squadron, even in home waters.

The Algiers fleet, on its return, had required a thorough overhauling,[48] and so few ships were fit for service, that the merchants were requested to continue their quota of vessels, five in number, for three months longer. Their consent was only obtained after much wrangling, for, although they were suffering great losses by reason of the insolences of the Dutch, they were loth to put their ships under the command of the Royal officers.

Early in 1622, a fleet of four King's ships and five merchantmen was in the Channel under the command of Lord Oxford[49] and Sir Francis Steward. Their chief duty was to police the Narrow Seas, and protect English merchant vessels from the ever-increasing indignities which the Dutch were heaping upon them. But little of consequence was done. Neither Oxford nor his Vice-Admiral could lay claim to much experience in naval matters, and their inactivity and invigilance were so pronounced, that the Dutch fleet of East India vessels passed up the Channel without molestation, while the English squadron was anchored in Portsmouth Harbour.[50] The irritation of the merchants was extreme. They requested the return of their vessels, and at the same time expressed their unwillingness to continue the pay-

(48) On Jan. 11, 1622, a warrant for £3750 was issued for repairing their defects. S. P. Domestic.

(49) Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, born Feb. 24, 1593. He was a member of the Council of War appointed in Jan. 1621, and was in command of the *Assurance*, one of the guard ships for the Narrow Seas, in the following December. But his hatred of Buckingham, and his imprisonment in the Tower in 1622-3, caused him to leave the country. He took service in the Netherlands, and died at the Hague in 1625. Dict. of Nat. Biography.

(50) S. P. Domestic: Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 16, 1622.

ment of the wages of those captains not appointed by themselves. But the Council refused to listen to their objections. The affair was referred to the Commissioners, and the merchants were finally charged on their peril not only to continue the payment, but to increase the wages of each commander to £10 a month.[51]

Though the Navy Commissioners were doing their utmost to set forth enough ships to patrol adequately the Narrow Seas, their efforts were sadly neutralized by the continual lack of funds. Mansell and his crews had been ill-paid, and Hawkins had died of vexation at the disastrous state of affairs.[52] One of the most prominent captains of the fleet even threatened to surprise the *Dreadnought* and return to his old trade of piracy.[53] The fleet for Newfoundland only mustered eleven out of its usual number of almost forty vessels, and the Dutch continued their attacks upon English vessels whenever they met them. Thus the evil state of things went on,

(51) The merchants had already given £40,000, in two years, to the Algiers fleet and its equipment. At this juncture they consented to give 2/6 per day, on condition that the other companies contribute their quotas,—French and Muscovy Companies, together with Trinity House. The merchants were also required to pay half the expenses of the hospital ship, *Goodwill* (S. P Domestic, Feb. 18, 1622). This they refused to do, as the ship was only used for carrying provisions and spoils from captured private vessels, of which they received no share. S. P. Dom., March 28, 1622.

(52) Sir Richard Hawkins, born 1562, died 1622. He had been Vice-Admiral uder Mansell in the Algiers expedition. He is said to have died in the Council Chamber itself. See S. P. D., April 17, 1622, and Dict. of Nat. Biography.

(53) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Domestic, April 27, 1622. This was Captain Walsingham, a former pirate, but now an officer in His Majesty's Navy. (Chamberlain said he was employed in the Algiers expedition, but his name does not appear among the list of captains under Mansell).

in spite of James' manifest interest at this time in the Navy, and regardless of the proclamation issued in August forbidding seamen to take service out of England without special licence, "in order to the better furnishing of the Navy and Shipping with able and skilful mariners."[54]

Meanwhile James, through his insane policy of ever trying to conciliate Spain, and his steady refusal to declare for the German Protestants, was being made the plaything of almost all the Courts of Europe. Though Gondomar had now returned to Spain,[55] his evil policy still remained to check the intrigues of the anti-Spanish party at the Court. The Imperialists in Germany were taking town after town in the Palatinate. Heidelberg itself fell in September,[56] and news reached England that same month that a large Spanish fleet was putting to sea for an unknown destination. The Government was almost beside itself with anxiety. A committee of twelve was hurriedly appointed to confer with the merchants on the causes of commercial decay, and measures were discussed for strengthening the Navy and coping with the dangers threatening the nation on every side.

James at last "begins to see that his patience is being abused in the Palatinate business," and on the receipt of intelligence that Bergen-op-Zoom had been relieved, and the siege raised,[57] the nation gave way to transports of joy. Even the vacillating monarch himself yielded to the general enthusiasm, and the advocates of war with Spain were congratulating themselves on the new turn affairs had taken, when announcement came that the cause of

(54) S. P. D., August 6, 1622.

(55) Captain Pennington had taken him to Spain in the *Victory*, in May, 1622. See S. P. D., May 13, 1622.

(56) Captured by Tilly on September 6.

(57) On October 2.

all the trouble was returning to London, and the universal satisfaction immediately gave place to dismal forebodings. The astute and crafty Gondomar had again left Madrid, "to ravish once more the heart of the Caledonian Solomon," and this time he had up his sleeve a project which was calculated to take away the breath of even the most "Hispanophile" courtiers.[58]

The ascendency of Spain was once more complete. Her policy had been crowned with the most startling success. She even condescended in January, 1623, to grant a truce of fifteen months to the Palatinate, but with artful subtlety contrived to have Frankenthal handed over to the Archduchess Isabella, as a trust to be given back on the expiry of the truce. No one indeed, as Gondomar, knew "so well the length of our foot."[59]

In February, 1623, Charles and the favourite were at Madrid, putting their persons at the discretion of England's bitterest foe, yet enjoying withal a hospitality whose sumptuous magnificence and cordiality it would have been almost impossible to exceed. Negotiations for the marriage between the Prince and the Infanta now took a more serious turn. The old King, in his imbecile dotage, was rubbing his hands with glee at the near approach of the realization of his long-cherished dreams, and under the influence of his enthusiasm gave orders for a fleet of ten ships to be prepared, and despatched to bring away his future daughter-in-law.[60]

(58) Within a few weeks of Gondomar's landing in England, Charles and Buckingham had left for Spain, and that rash but romantic adventure had begun.

(59) Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 21, 1622. S. P. D.

(60) The history of this long course of complicated intrigue and diplomacy is too tedious to enter into. But there is no doubt that Spain was not in earnest over the affair, and Gondomar had most assuredly been instructed secretly to work against the marriage.

On March 4, the Navy Commissioners wrote to Secretary Conway[61] that the *Adventure*, preparing to transport the Prince's servants, should be ready by the 14th. Two days afterwards disastrous news reached England. Its monarch's daughter had received intelligence that the Electoral dignity had been transferred from her husband to the Elector of Bavaria. What irony of fate! And the Royal ships were at that time making ready to convey to James a would-be daughter, belonging to a House whose agents had been instrumental in dispossessing his own child of her German territories.[62]

During the month of March, the work of preparing the fleet for its voyage south was pushed on with all speed possible. But obstacle after obstacle presented itself to hinder the vigorous endeavours of the Commissioners, the lack of funds proving, as always, the worst deterrent. On the 26th of February, 206 new carriages were wanted for the ships, but no money for these was forthcoming.[63] The expenses of the match had so drained the kingdom "that preachers could scarcely be restrained from talking about it."[64] The mariners themselves were daily deserting, ever fearing ill-treatment and being compelled to wait an indefinite time for their pay, for in spite of the King's proclamation of the

Yet things had gone so far, that it was only by making the most preposterous and impossible conditions that Spain could recede from her position without showing a breach of faith.

(61) He had, through Buckingham's influence, succeeded Naunton in the post of Chief Secretary. Made Viscount Conway by Charles I., and died in January, 1632.

(62) Elizabeth was driven from the Palatinate in September, 1619.

(63) S. P. Domestic, Commissioners to the Lord Treasurer, Feb. 26, 1623.

(64) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P .D., March 21, 1623.

preceding August, English sailors were enlisting in foreign service, which "made it an endless toil to supply the ships with suitable men."[65]

On April 24, the fleet was ready, and only awaited the signal of the Navy Commissioners to set sail. But that signal was never forthcoming, and in spite of the despatch of Sir Thomas Love and Sir John Wentworth with Buckingham's letters and jewels,[66] to herald the departure of the squadron, changes in commands and dilatoriness in final preparations constantly interposed, to keep the ships from weighing anchor. On June 14, the Earl of Rutland, who was in supreme command, received orders to keep the fleet in the Downs[67] and await further instructions. Expenses were rising, to the great annoyance of Lord Treasurer Middlesex, who was bitterly deploring the extravagance in Navy matters, and the inactive squadron, whilst awaiting the return of Rutland who had been ordered to London on the 28th, was costing the Treasury more than £300 daily.[68]

In the meantime the Dutch were taking advantage of the situation to continue their insolences even in our very ports. A small squadron of their vessels attacked a Dunkirker in Leith Harbour, and although the Scottish Council sent men on board to take charge of the vessel,

(65) 300 deserted while the fleet remained in the harbour of Portsmouth. See S. P. D., July 28, 1623.

(66) These two Captains sailed ahead of the fleet in the *Antelope* with instructions to join the main body at the Groyne or Bayonne. Wentworth had replaced Sir Francis Steward. S. P. D., April 15 and 24, 1623. Charles and Buckingham, however, finally sailed from Santander, and not from the Groyne.

(67) S. P. Domestic, June 15, 1623. Rutland (1578-1632) had married Buckingham's daughter.

(68) S. P. D. June 28, 1623.

the Hollanders drove them away, tore down the English colours, and set fire to the ship.[69] Two ships were instantly despatched to Scotland under Captain Best. On their arrival in Scottish waters, they found a second[70] Dunkirker at Aberdeen watched by four Dutch men-of-war. Best escorted the Spanish ship to Leith on July 26, and from thence to the Downs, where the insolence of the Dutch, who had followed the convoy the whole way from Scotland, so exasperated the stout old seaman, that he let fly some cannon shot at the intruders and beat them out. For this act he was censured by the Council, who regarded the affair "as a rash exploit which might involve war," but the courageous seaman treated with scorn the Government's feeble proceedings, and, carefully guarding the Dunkirker till she reached Gravesend, he proceeded to join Rutland's fleet once more, after demonstrating to the Dutch admiral[71] that there were still left mariners of the old Elizabethan school, however feeble and irresolute might be the nation's rulers.[72]

(69) Letter of Council of Scotland to James. May, 1623.

(70) St. Leger to Conway. S. P. D. June 17, 1623; but John Woodford, writing to Sir Francis Nethersole on July 25, said that four ships had been despatched. See S. P. D. of that date.

(71) His name was Lambert. He had shown great vigour and activity in the Mediterranean against the pirates, and had, by his severe measures, which generally consisted in hanging his pirate captives in sight of Algiers itself, succeeded in making himself so formidable against the Algerines, that he ultimately was granted everything he demanded. What a contrast to the feeble measures of Mansell's expedition! See Grammont's 'History of Algiers under the Turkish Domination.'

(72) This incident, however trivial in appearance, had in it many elements of considerable gravity. Though called upon to assist the Scottish Council in punishing the Dutch for their insolence, the people of Leith flatly refused to lend any aid whatsoever. (See

On August 24 the fleet set sail, but only on the anxious solicitations of James, who had been exceedingly nervous over the safety of "Baby Charles and Steenie." Three days afterwards it reached Plymouth, where contrary winds kept Rutland for another fortnight tied by the leg in his "floating and tottering prison of the sea." On September 9, the squadron was still at Plymouth, but favourable winds afterwards setting in, the fleet succeeded at last in gaining the open sea and directing its course for the Spanish coast, just as Charles and Buckingham were taking leave of Philip with every protestation of friendship, prior to their departure from

letter of Melrose to Armandale of May 10). In the meantime, the Dutch had fired upon the Spanish ship which had run aground, and some of their shot had even reached Leith Pier. They then returned scornful answers to the remonstrances of the Council, and after hoisting the colours of the Prince of Orange on board the Spanish vessel, which was now deserted, they sailed away in triumph. Sir William St. Leger had been ordered to accompany Best as his second in command, but had refused to sail unless expressly commanded by the King, alleging, as excuse, that he was "not yet freed from his oath to the States-General against whom the expedition is sent, and is loath to go under the command of Capt. Best." (See St. Leger's letter to Conway, June 17, 1623. S. P. Domestic). The latter reason was no doubt the true one. Capt. Christian replaced him in the *Bonaventure*. On the journey to the Downs, the Spanish Captain, proud of the sailing powers of his vessel, outstripped Best's ships, upon which the Dutch, who had threatened to fire if the Spaniard left his escort, killed the Captain and five men with a volley, which led to Best's firing upon the Hollanders in return. See Best to Conway, S. P. D., Aug. 6. St. Leger afterwards took over the *Bonaventure* from Capt. Christian, and proceeded to Spain with the fleet. In this affair Lambert, the Dutch Admiral, had shown the same audacity which he exhibited in the Mediterranean. He had a fleet of 14 ships under him, and had threatened to attack Best unless the latter showed him a commission for his action of the 4th, signed by James himself. See Conway to Best, S. P. D., Aug. 9, 1623.

Madrid.[73] The English squadron reached St. Andrea[74] without mishap, and on the 18th of September, the Prince and his companion embarked on the flagship, and joyfully turned their gaze northwards, fully conscious of the enthusiastic welcome which they expected to receive now that the prospects of a Spanish marriage were farther off than ever. On October 5, they landed at Portsmouth, and the following day reached London, where the news of their arrival had preceded them, and where, as they anticipated, the people welcomed them with excesses of joy such as they scarcely merited. London went mad with delight. The Prince's name and Buckingham's were in every mouth, while the old King remained silent and heavy of heart, a prey to the mortification to which the disappointment of an unrealized dream had brought him.

The return of Buckingham, and his secret determination to urge on the Government to embroil themselves in a conflict with Spain, gave a new impetus to the work of the Navy Commissioners.[75] James was totally powerless

(73) The fleet consisted of 10 vessels— *Royal Prince, St. George, St. Andrew, Swiftsure, Defiance, Rainbow, Bonaventure, Antelope* (which had preceded the main body), and the two pinnaces, *Charles* and *Seven Stars*. S. P. D., May 27, 1623. Clowes's 'Hist. of the Royal Navy,' says, "The Earl of Denbigh had gone with ten ships to bring home Prince Charles." This is doubtless a slip, and is probably meant to be Rutland. See p. 56.

(74) Santander.

(75) It is curious to see Buckingham's private feelings, and to note how regardless he was of England's real interests unless they coincided with his own particular whims. He goes to Spain, offends everybody there, and for revenge's sake urges on the necessity of war with Spain. Three years after, he goes to France, enjoys life and the beauties of Louis' Court, offends the Ministers there by his tactless, if not sensual, habits, returns to England bitterly hated of all the French Court, and immediately presses Charles on to declare war against the French. Such a man was the deadliest of snakes to the country he belonged to. His zeal for the navy was scarcely owing to any true desire for its welfare.

against the clamours of the greater part of the nation, supported, as it now was, by the heir to the throne and the all-powerful favourite. All that was required by the war party was funds sufficient for their purposes, and they felt themselves, at such a moment, in a strong enough position to meet a Parliament and to demand supplies for carrying out their designs.

With that object in view, the Commissioners of the Navy issued a Certificate of their service since the appointment of the Commission in 1618, and the results of their labours gave them every hope of receiving from Parliament the recompense which they considered to be their due.[76] And not without reason could they congratulate themselves upon their work. In 1618, the Navy consisted of 41 vessels, of which 10 were quite unserviceable and 23 needed repairs. In 1623, they had 35 ships in a good, serviceable condition, many of which had been built during their term of office.[77] The expenses, which had usually amounted to nearly £50,000 annually, were cut down to scarcely more than half that sum, and that, too, without in any way decreasing the efficiency of the fleet. In addition to this, the tonnage of the present navy exceeded that of 1618 by over 4,000 tons, and a new dock had been built at Chatham.

James could indeed experience a feeling of satisfaction as he surveyed the result of the labours of the Commission, even though it had been done in despite of his parsimony, and, indirectly, of his discouraging influence.[78] Through the vigorous efforts of the

(76) The Certificate was dated December 31, 1623.

(77) Among their original plans was the resolution to build two new ships each year.

(78) I fail to agree with those writers who assert that James had a real interest in the welfare of the Navy. Rather am I in

Commissioners, he had now a fleet of warships second to none, which constituted a sure protection to the increasing mercantile marine, and which, later on, was to prove one of his strongest supports in the delicate negotiations preceding Charles' marriage with Henrietta Maria and the outbreak of hostilities with Spain.

accord with the statement in Clowes' 'History of the Royal Navy' that he "did considerably more harm than good to the service." He "never missed a launch" and "sat in person to decide disputes on the most technical questions," says Corbett ('England in the Mediterranean.') But I frankly confess that he did this solely out of his desire to "shine" in matters of disputation, and not out of a real, genuine interest for naval welfare. Remark his methods and questions at all meetings of inquiry he attended. Just as, in 1604, he loved to preside over theological disputes, so he delighted to take the chair at any conference where he could find flatterers ready to hail him, each time he opened his mouth, as an oracle uttering words of divine inspiration. Weak and vacillating characters always court prominence in controversial questions, and can never brook opposition to their own opinions.

Photo :] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

THE CITY OF ALGIERS IN BARBARY.
(From an old print).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ALGIERS EXPEDITION.
1620-1621.

On November 18, 1612, the Lords of the Council wrote to Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, commenting upon the ceaseless depredations committed by pirates on the Irish coasts.

"Their Lordships are sorry to learn," ran the missive, "that the mischief has reached such a height, that it can only be checked either by laying the islands or the sea-coast waste or void of inhabitants, or by placing a garrison in every port or creek, which is impracticable."[1]

Such was the state of affairs in the middle of the reign of James I. Peace at any price had been the keynote of foreign policy, and in order to carry this through, the Navy, the "bulwark of the nation," was to rot in the harbours of the kingdom, and the national prestige was to reach its lowest ebb. And as if to accentuate the irony of fate, the hope of the ardent advocates of a strong navy had breathed his last a few days before the above letter was penned. Henry, Prince of Wales, in whom were centred all the expectations of those who wished to see revived the glories of Elizabethan enterprise, had passed away on November 6,[2] and by his death the Navy had lost its warmest supporter.

Whatever may be said of James' peace policy, one thing is absolutely certain—the outrages committed by piratical freebooters had increased to an alarming

(1) S. P. Ireland, November 18, 1612.

(2) S. P. Venetian, March 9/19, 1613.

extent. From every side complaints were being continually sent to the Council concerning the distressful condition of the British coast towns and the maritime population. Ever since James' accession the pirates had profited enormously by the deterioration of the Navy, and the maladministration of its officers. What relief could be expected from a corrupt body of men, whose only aim was to put bribes into their own pockets, and to enrich themselves at the State's expense by the most disgraceful malpractices![3] The Narrow Seas were everywhere infested by these sea-robbers, who had become all the bolder "because the King seems to have sunk into a lethargy of pleasures, and will not take heed of matters of State."[4]

In July, 1604, Monson was in command of the fleet for guarding the Narrow Seas.[5] His vigorous measures checked the piratical incursions for a while, and till 1607 the freebooters seemed to have limited their depredations to the Mediterranean, where the weak state of the Venetian navy,[6] and the strife between the Porte and the Grand Duke of Tuscany,[7] allowed them full liberty to rob

(3) "Piers, the corsair, says he has a golden key to open the doors of the great, especially of the Lord High Admiral." No wonder Nottingham treated the Venetian Ambassador rather coolly when the latter caused another pirate named Cunliffe to be imprisoned. S. P. Venetian, June 23/July 3, 1603. Tonkins, another pirate, had plundered the *Balbiana* and had sent four chests of money to Nottingham. Venetian Amb. to Doge, S. P. V., Sept. 11, 1603.

(4) S. P. Venetian, Aug. 25/Sept. 4, 1603.

(5) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 21.

(6) Piracy has grown 'on account of the general opinion that the Venetian fleet is feeble both in fight and in navigation.' S. P. Venetian, Sept. 1/11, 1603.

(7) S. P. Venetian, June 21/July 1, 1604.

and plunder at their will. In July, 1607, they began to infest the Irish seas once more, which necessitated the despatch of the *Lion's Whelp*, under Capt. St. John, to those parts. Throughout the following year, Ward and Danzer, two of the most notorious pirates of the day, were terrorising the Mediterranean Seas, in consequence of which the Spanish navy was re-organized in order to cope with the growing power of the freebooters.[8]

But nothing seemed to check their nefarious practices. The ocean was swarming with their vessels, and the corruption amongst the Navy officials, who themselves were suspected by James of being in league with the pirates,[9] prevented severe measures from being taken against them. "Not a day passes," writes the Venetian, Correr, to the Doge, "without some new depredations by the pirates, who swarm in these waters. In one year they have captured 30 French ships of various kinds."[10]

On January 29, 1609, a proclamation was issued against them by James, and the same year they suffered a severe loss at Tunis, where 35 of their vessels were set on fire by a French *Saettia* and other ships sent thither for the purpose of destroying that nest of hornets.[11] This

(8) Corbett's 'England in the Mediterranean.' See also Chapter I., p. 15.

(9) S. P. Venetian, Nov. 10/20, 1608.

(10) S. P. Venetian, December 8/18, 1608.

(11) This was probably a joint expedition of the Spaniards and some French merchants of St. Malo. See 'St. Malo : Son Passé et le Tour de ses Remparts,' by J. M. Hamon, where mention is made of the destruction of 35 pirate vessels. A *Saettia* was a speedy pinnace, brigantine, or light frigate. (Century Dictionary). Henry IV. of France was at this time preparing his "Great Design" against the Spanish power, and for this end was trying to raise a navy. Danzer, or "Danziker," whose skill in nautical affairs was of the highest order, would therefore be of the utmost utility to the King.

loss, however, in no way disconcerted the pirates. Another of their leaders, Bishop, appeared on the Irish coast with 11 ships manned chiefly by Englishmen, and Monson was directed to send a squadron to the west to protect the maritime population. Holland and Spain, too, fitted out ships for the Mediterranean, where "Danziker" was spreading desolation among the numerous merchant vessels that ploughed the waters of that inland sea. But this cunning villain proved too wily to be caught, and after taking a galleon worth half a million in gold, he sailed to Marseilles and put himself under the protection of the Duke of Guise.[12]

On the English coasts the insolence of the pirates knew no bounds. The London markets were suffering enormous losses, and many of the merchants requested leave to take out letters of marque, but the royal assent was always refused them. At the same time there was no squadron at sea sufficiently strong to cope with the pirates, and the Irish Seas in particular suffered from their incursions, though some ships had already been despatched to those parts "to keep them in awe." Vain hope, indeed, when this naval force consisted of but three small cruisers in all! But little cared Nottingham and his unworthy subordinates, so long as their pockets were well lined by the contributions offered them by these ocean pests, and the piratical excesses continued with each succeeding year, while the Navy officials maintained an indifference intensely galling to the nation.

In July, 1610, the pirates threatened to attack the Newfoundland fleet on its homeward voyage, and measures were instantly taken for despatching an additional force to the Irish coasts for the purpose of protecting these harmless traders.

(12) S. P. Venetian, October 21/31, 1609.

"In Ireland," writes the Venetian Ambassador on July 7th, "there are nine pirate vessels which have met there, partly to divide their booty, partly to take in provisions. They can lie there quite safely, for there is no force in these waters able to give them battle."[13]

But if the Navy officials were slow to move against the pirates, the same thing could not be said of the Dutch. In the autumn of 1611, a fleet of Holland men-of-war was raised to extirpate the pirates in the Channel, and permission was granted by the English Government to Lambert,[14] the Dutch Admiral, to seek them even in Irish harbours. James and his Council, with the exchequer empty and little hope of replenishing it, clutched greedily at this chance of having police work in the Narrow Seas done without putting the national finances to expense, and the nation had the mortification of seeing those whom they called their pupils in the art of navigation,[15] scouring the seas over which it claimed supremacy, while stronger and finer men-of-war than those which the Dutch possessed were rotting in harbour. It was a sad blow to England's pride, and many an old seaman of Elizabethan times must have wished himself dead rather than have lived to see such dishonour brought upon the national escutcheon. But murmurs were of no avail, and Prince Henry, seeing that nothing could prevail upon James to set forth a fleet for the purpose of tracking out the pirates, acquiesced in the Council's determination to grant pardon to any among them who were English subjects. At any rate, they were

(13) S. P. Venetian, June 27/July 7, 1610.

(14) This Dutch Admiral made himself particularly dreaded by the pirates through his severe and exterminating measures. See Note 71, p. 76.

(15) Note the Venetian Ambassador's account of England. S.P. Venetian, December 9/19, 1618.

excellent mariners, and to the under-manned Navy which had lost so many of its best sailors these hardy but erring freebooters would prove a useful addition. But the pirates themselves treated for the most part with disdain the offer of pardon, for a nation at peace with all the world gave them little hope of employment, especially when its fleet was laid up in harbour in complete inactivity. On July 22, 1612, Sir William St. John was ordered to the Irish Seas to deliver the Council's offer, but the majority of the pirates gave little heed to the King's pacific measures, and scornfully rejected all overtures for bringing them once more under their country's flag.[16] Between the years 1612 and 1615 they restricted their activities chiefly to the Mediterranean, where the free ports of Nice and Villafranca, and the ceaseless intrigues of the Duke of Savoy, gave them unrestrained liberty to continue their depredations.[17] In June, 1615, the States despatched a fleet of 12 ships to exterminate the corsairs, and Spain, that same month, granted permission for privateering, but the pirates were too strong to be cowed by these measures.[18]

Nevertheless, the activity in Dutch and Spanish ports had its effect upon James and his ministers, and more strenuous means were now taken to cope with the evil. The merchants co-operated with the Lord High Admiral for raising money, the King and the Council gave their assent to the despatch of a fleet, and preparations were actively pushed on to these ends. And none too soon,

(16) S. P. Ireland, 1612. See also Chapter I, p. 25.

(17) Eston, one of the most notorious, had entered the service of Savoy, and had put most of his ill-gotten gains at the disposal of the Duke, who gave him the title of Marquis. This pirate, shortly afterwards, contracted a marriage with a lady of note, and was highly esteemed for his skill in naval matters.

(18) S. P. Venetian, June 11/21, 1615.

indeed, for between 1609 and 1616 it was computed that the Algerines had taken no less than 416 British ships and reduced their crews to slavery.[19] But unfortunately for English commerce, James was entirely under the influence of Gondomar, Spain's clever envoy, and the Spanish monarchy had no wish to see an English fleet enter the Mediterranean. Money, too, was scarce, and the freebooters in consequence had another lease of life as far as English attempts at their suppression were concerned.

Till 1617, the piratical excesses therefore continued with little molestation from James and his Council, but in April of that year the exasperated merchants refused to brook their insolences any further. Mention has already been made of their boldness in taking the King to task and claiming the right of protection by the Royal Navy. They also requested six ships from His Majesty, at the same time consenting to defray part of the expenses of an expedition, and promising 40,000 crowns to Southampton if he would take the chief command.[20] But in spite of London's offer of £40,000 towards the undertaking, the report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the question of despatching a fleet to Algiers was not particularly encouraging. "The pirates flock to Algiers," said these latter, "but the surprising of that place is impossible. Experienced captains think the only mode would be to treat with foreign princes to join in maintaining forces for their gradual suppression."[21] Spain's co-operation, too, was indispensable owing to the nearness of her ports to the pirates' strongholds.

But hitches were constantly occurring. James wished the nomination of the commanders of the ships to be left

(19) Oppenheim's 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' p. 198.
(20) See Chapter II, p. 48.
(21) S. P. D., April 20, 1617.

to his ministers. The merchants refused to concur in this, and as the King remained obdurate, they withdrew their contributions, though English trade in the Mediterranean was tending to cease entirely. The King had fondly relied upon Spanish protection for the merchants,[22] but that effete nation could scarcely protect itself from the pirates' incursions. The States, in January, 1618, made a show of enlisting Venice, France, and England into united action, but little came of it,[23] while in England, the want of money and the maladministration of naval affairs were the perpetual stumbling block to any effective action.

Nevertheless, the necessity for strong measures was becoming more and more imperative. Naval preparations were being made in France for action against the Algerines, and Holland and Savoy were also concerting measures. In March, 1618, a commission was appointed in England for inquiring into naval abuses, negotiations were pushed on for the purpose of allaying the ill-feeling between France and the English Government,[24] and finally, in February, 1619, Buckingham took over the Lord High Admiral's post from the feeble hands of Nottingham. The time was now come for action.

Incited by Mansell, whose covetous mind was always seeking new fields of profit, the favourite threw himself

(22) Spain was much upset when England's intention of sending a fleet to the Mediterranean was approaching realization. Venetian Amb. at Rome to Doge, S. P. V., August 1/11, 1618.

(23) Suriam, Venetian Secretary in Holland, writing to the Doge, said, "The Dutch still speak of arming 12 ships against the pirates, but I have heard nothing more of their acting with your Serenity in the matter." S. P. Venetian, February 24/March 4, 1618.

(24) On November 30, 1618, the Venetian Donato stated that the ministers of both these countries had been withdrawn. S. P. Venetian, 1618.

with vigour into the business, and James allowed himself to be persuaded to a determination of extirpating the pirates. A fleet of 25 vessels was decided upon, and the work of making these ready was actively pushed on. All parties concurred in aiding the expedition with funds,[25] and a Dutch squadron promised its co-operation. But the King's ships were in a most deplorable state. During the long peace they had lain up in the Thames or at the southern ports absolutely rotting away, and the naval Commissioners were only just succeeding in remedying some few of the abuses in the maritime service, and in decreasing the annual charges of the Navy without weakening its practical value.[26]

On January 18, 1620, Sir Francis Nethersole[27], writing to Carleton,[28] speaks of Mansell's appointment to the command of the fleet for suppressing the pirates. But several months elapsed before the ships left the shores of

(25) London again promised £40,000, and the Cinque ports, which contributed five vessels, gave £200 per annum for two years. An impost of 2 per cent. on imports and exports was fixed, to defray the cost of six King's ships. (Council to Lord Zouch). Bristol contributed £1,000 to expedition. S. P. D., February 28, 1619.

(26) "The King has taken the Navy accounts, and found that the Commissioners, at half the expense of former years, have done all the work and built two new ships." See Wingfield to Carleton, S. P. D., November 12, 1619. Also Chapter III, p. 79.

(27) Born 1587, died 1659. Nethersole was agent to the Electress Palatine in Germany and afterwards in England, where he did his utmost to further her affairs. Early in 1634 he was dismissed from the service of Elizabeth for a remark which Charles deemed offensive to his dignity, and retired from public life. Dict. of Nat. Biography.

(28) Born 1573, died 1632. Carleton, "a sagacious and successful diplomatist," was employed in various foreign negotiations of Charles I's. reign ; made Viscount Dorchester in 1628, and soon after chief Secretary of State. Dictionary of Nat. Biography.

England. The want of money proved the principal obstacle, and this crying need tended to overthrow all the useful work done by the Navy Commissioners.[29] On July 4, three ships were still required for the expedition, and Trinity House was called upon to levy £1,000 yearly for furnishing and supplying them with all necessaries.[30]

Concerning the destination of the fleet the utmost secrecy was maintained. France was just beginning to make great strides in naval matters under the astute Richelieu, who, in October, was made Grand-Master and Director of navigation and commerce.[31] Great anxiety, too, was being felt over Spain's determination to send help to the Emperor by way of the Adriatic.[32] And as if to add still further to the uncertainty in the general mind of the ultimate aim of the expedition, the equipage of the fleet was "so rich that it is thought they cannot be going merely against Algiers pirates."[33]

On October 12, 1620, the fleet at length set sail. It consisted of 6 King's ships,[34] 10 merchantmen, and 2 pinnaces, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, who

(29) On February 26, 1620, Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, says "In the meantime we are here in so great straits for money that we are fain to make a breach into the assignation for maintenance of the Navy, which course is like to bring all back to the former confusion." S. P. D., James I. See also p. 60.

(30) S. P. D., 1620, July 4.

(31) Table Générale de la Marine. Bib. Nat. Paris.

(32) Mansell was ordered not to go east of Cape Spartivento, unless compelled, "so that his fleet might remain a constant menace if any attempt were contemplated to send assistance to the Emperor by sea." Corbett's 'England in the Mediterranean.'

(33) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Dom., Sept. 9, 1620.

(34) These were the *Lion*, *Vanguard*, *Rainbow*, *Constant Reformation*, *Antelope* and *Convertive*. See Chapter III for details connected with preparing the ships.

had, as his second in command, Sir Richard Hawkins,[35] and Sir Thomas Button for his Rear Admiral. On October 17, the squadron was off Finisterre, on the 29th it doubled Cape St. Vincent, and the following day it entered the Straits, fully determined to extirpate those Algerine pirates, and take ample vengeance for the enormous losses which European commerce had sustained.[36] In the Straits the fleet met two Spanish ships, which deferentially saluted the English squadron, and informed Mansell of the presence of a large number of pirate vessels in those seas.[37] On November 3, Mansell anchored in Malaga Roads, and immediately sent off a messenger to Madrid to acquaint the English ambassador there with his arrival. Passing Motril Road and Cape de Gates, and making a short stay at Alicante, where some sick men were sent on shore, the English squadron anchored off Algiers on November 27, in 27 fathoms of water, "out of command of the town or castle, the Admiral and Rear-Admiral wearing white ancients on their poops, the rest of the fleet wearing no ancients at

(35) 1562?—1622. Son of Sir John Hawkins, of Elizabethan fame. He made many remarkable voyages, the chief being in 1593 in the *Dainty*. In 1604 he was M.P. for Plymouth and Vice-Admiral of Devon. His death has already been mentioned. see p. 71.

(36) De Grammont, in his 'Relations entre la France et la Régence d'Alger au XVIIIe Siècle,' says that they had taken, between 1613 and 1621, 447 ships of Holland, 195 French, 56 German, 60 English, 120 Spanish, and 60 of Provence. The number of English vessels lost was much greater than is computed here.

(37) On March 17/27, 1619, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain writes to his Government that all Spanish ports had received the order to give a cordial welcome to the English fleet. The reasons were obvious. Spain had already spent 2 millions on her own fleet for *other purposes*, and was now glad to weaken the English fleet by getting it to do police service for her.

all. Going in, the whole fleet saluted the town with their ordnance, but the town gave us none again."[38]

The next day Mansell sent an officer ashore to inform the Governor of his arrival. On December 2 one of his captains was deputed to deliver the King's letters, and two "principal men of the town" were given as hostages for his safety. Six Spanish ships came into the road on the following morning, and saluted the English fleet with much deference.[39] On the 4th, Mansell received an answer to the King's letters, and 40 captives were delivered up to him, which the Algerines "pretended was all they had in the town."[40] Only too well did the pirates know their strength, and though their insolent outrages had enraged all Europe, they nevertheless understood the position of affairs on the Continent, and the utter impossibility of any punitive measures against them being successful.[41] The town was full of soldiers, some thousands of the warlike Moors, whom Spanish bigotry had driven from the Iberian peninsula, having taken up their residence in Algiers, and thus augmented the number of these freebooters with a vigorous and hardy population.[42] Henri IV. himself, in order to further his plans against Spain, had wished to ally himself with the

(38) Journal of Algiers Voyage. S. P. D. James I, V. 122. 100.

(39) A feature of the expedition was the deference shown by the Spanish ships. See Note 37 on previous page.

(40) Journal of Algiers Voyage.

(41) During Mansell's first night spent off Algiers, 3 prizes were brought into the harbour, two of which were English vessels; and even while this punitive expedition was cruising in the western seas of the Mediterranean between October, 1620, and March, 1621, the French computed their losses to amount to 21 vessels, valued at 200,000 crowns. De Grammont's 'Relations entre la France et la Régence d'Alger au XVIIIe Siècle.'

(42) De Grammont says that early in 1621 there were 10,000 soldiers in Algiers. Ibidem.

Bey, though the Algerines had grievously affronted him.[43] And even in 1620, when the exasperated populace of Marseilles massacred the ambassador of Algiers and his suite, to avenge the cruelty done upon the crew of a Marseilles ship by a notorious pirate named Drivet,[44] no further action of importance was taken against these pests. The disastrous results of previous expeditions against Algiers were still remembered, and if these had been unsuccessful under such powerful monarchs as Charles Quint, still less hope of success could be expected when Europe was embroiled in intrigue, jealousy, and dispute, and a terrible war was on the verge of bursting out, which was destined to engulf almost the whole continent in its awful embrace.[45]

The Algerines, therefore, were not slow to profit by the dissensions among their enemies, and even a powerful fleet, such as Mansell commanded, gave them no *inquiétude*. The English admiral, seeing no advantage was to be gained by remaining off the town, weighed anchor and sailed for "Calerie,"[46] and thence

(43) They had put several monks into irons, and had imprisoned three times Jacques de Vias, a trusty servant of Catherine de Médicis. E. Plantet's 'Correspondance des Deys d'Alger avec la Cour de France.'

(44) Ibidem.

(45) Many expeditions had already been despatched to destroy this nest of pirates. In 1390, the Genoese, aided by the Duke of Bourbon, tried to extirpate the Algerines. Then followed those of Pedro Navarro, Cardinal Ximenes, Diego de Hera in 1516, and Hugo de Moncade in 1518. This last-named undertaking was crowned with success. In 1541 came Charles Quint's great expedition of 200 vessels and 25,000 men, but stormy weather rendered abortive all the attempts, and this fine fleet narrowly escaped total destruction. In 1601, Doria appeared off Algiers with 70 ships, but arrived too late to do much work. Ibidem.

(46) Modern 'Cullera.'

to Majorca on the 8th of December. On the 14th, the fleet anchored in the Road of "Alacotha" to the north of Majorca, where the inhabitants received them "very friendly." Thence it proceeded to Alicante,[47] where Mansell hoped to receive letters and news of some victualling ships which he was expecting from England. Deeply disappointed at not obtaining intelligence of these valuable additions to the fleet, he set sail, early in the following January, for Malaga Roads, hoping to get there the required information.

On January 12, 1621, letters from England, dated December 14, reached the Admiral, which announced the despatch of victuals to Malaga, together with two pinnaces.[48] After despatching Captain Roper home with a full account of his proceedings, Mansell, on the 27th, set sail once more. On the following day he came up with a Dutch squadron of 23 sail under Haughton,[49] Admiral of Zealand. The wind, however, proving unfavourable, the English fleet was forced to return to Alicante Roadstead.

While the fleet was at Alicante, Mansell sent out the Rear-Admiral, on February 1, with four ships, to search for pirates. The quest, however, was fruitless, and Button returned to the roadstead on the 5th. The fleet weighed

(47) On his arrival there was great joy in the town, in consequence of the news received from Bohemia of the overthrow experienced by the Elector Palatine. Journal of Algiers Voyage.

(48) The *Mercury* and the *Spy*. These reached Mansell on the 16th of January, 1621, with the victualling ships. (Journal of Algiers Voyage). On December 8, 1620, the victual ships were unable to depart from England, because the carriages for the ordnance of the two pinnaces were not delivered owing to non-payment of cost (£10).

(49) Or 'Hautain.' This was the same Admiral that Holland sent in command of the loan ships, which aided the French against Rochelle in 1625.

anchor next day, and sailing to Malaga, took up the sick men put on shore on the previous journey.[50] But although the invalids had been so well treated, a large number had still to be left behind. Of the 92 men which the *Constant Reformation* had sent on shore, 42 "desperately ill" were unable to resume their duties.[51] On the 11th, the fleet put to sea once more, leaving the Vice-Admiral at Malaga, but the latter rejoined his Admiral on the 16th. Between the 18th and 27th of February, Mansell sent out several small squadrons to scour the seas for pirates, but no success attended the search for these wily foes. In the meantime negotiations had been proceeding with the Mogaden[52] for liberating the English slaves in his possession, "but nothing was concluded," and the fleet sailed for Gibraltar, where it arrived on March 6th. On the 8th, three ships made for Tituan, followed by the Admiral on the following day with the *Mercury*, *Barbery* and *Constant Reformation*. But little was gained by these meanderings, and the whole fleet except one vessel united once more at Malaga on the 13th.

During all this time Mansell's inactivity was giving great offence at home, but the presence of his fleet in Spanish waters was not without its importance, preventing, as it did, the despatch of succours from Spain to Italy, and keeping the former nation in a perpetual state of nervous anxiety, especially during the troublous times that followed the accession of Philip IV.[53] On March 28, the Admiral and Rear-Admiral sailed for Alicante, leaving Hawkins behind with five ships to await a further supply

(50) On November 19.

(51) Journal of Algiers Voyage.

(52) Or Mograbin, a Chief of Magrab, which corresponds to the coast of Tunis and Algeria.

(53) Philip III. died on March 21/31. See the Fortescue Papers, p. 104. Note.

of stores from England. These, however, had not arrived by the 10th of April, and in consequence the Vice-Admiral rejoined the fleet on the 14th. A week afterwards, the long-expected victuals arrived, and after taking these on board at Malaga, and obtaining wood from Alicante, the whole squadron set sail for Majorca, which was reached on the 29th, and where "we found all manner of victuals in plenty and at easy rates."[54]

After a brief stay off this friendly island, which served to raise the discouraged spirits of his men, Mansell decided upon returning to Algiers, and issued instructions requiring the whole fleet to keep together. On May 21, the English squadron arrived once more off the pirate stronghold, each ship taking up its position as ordered by the Admiral. When all had anchored, Mansell sent off six of the merchantmen to ply to the west, and to keep "as near the shore as conveniently they might to prevent the coming in of any pirate between the fleet and the shore."[55] Measures were then taken to fire the Algerine vessels in the port. Five small vessels were filled with combustibles, and a "grindlod filled with fireworks, chains and grapnels of iron" was "to go into the middle of the ships in the Mole, where fastening her to some ship, was to be set on fire." Seven boats were also told off to support the crews of these vessels in case of attack by the Algerines. But unfortunately for the success of the project, the wind veered to the west, and the attempt had

(54) Journal of Algiers Voyage. The Journal adds that "the town of Majorca is large and well fortified, the people industrious, both men, women, and children given to labour, loving and courteous to strangers. Their chief merchandise are oil, wood, and cheese, whereof the country affordeth plenty."

(55) Journal of Algiers Voyage. Curious that this was not done the first time, when several prizes got into the town unmolested. See note to Journal.

to be postponed. On the 22nd and 23rd, the unfavourable winds continued, but on the 24th, the elements were propitious, and the fireboats advanced towards the pirate vessels. Vexatious disappointment ! No sooner had the attacking vessels got within a musket shot of the enemy's fleet, than a calm came on and left them there in complete inactivity. To increase still further the confusion, a full moon discovered the English to the enemy's forces, and the alarm was instantly given. The whole project was utterly frustrated, though the attacking party gallantly persevered, and came even up to the walls of the town.[56] But a withering fire made them recoil, and they were at length obliged to fall back into the Mole, where the ships themselves proved a protection from the small shot and ordnance continually being played upon them.[57] Nor was this the only disappointment. The squadron of merchantmen, which was ordered to ply in search of pirate vessels, was forced by wind and current too much to leeward, and this enabled four sail of Algerines to enter by the west point of land.[58] Mansell at length gave up the task in despair, and on the evening following the attempt the whole English fleet stood out once more to sea. Had they but stayed another night, seven of the enemy's vessels would have " fallen into our laps," and the Turks would have been prevented from booming up the Mole.[59] The departure of the English

(56) On July 28, 1624, a warrant was granted to pay Mansell £555 15s. " for rewards to those who fired the pirates' ships." S. P. D. James I.

(57) Journal of Algiers Voyage. This was indeed unfortunate, for had the English made the attack on the preceding night, they would have found the pirate vessels scantily guarded, and expecting no "such attempt from us." Ibidem.

(58) Ibidem.

(59) Two Genoese captives swam to the English fleet and brought this intelligence to Mansell. Ibidem.

squadron allowed the enemy to strengthen their defences, and no ship could now enter the harbour.

Algiers was by this time thoroughly aroused. Three galleys and 15 smaller vessels were ordered to patrol the harbour, and boats were sent from the pirate fleet from time to time, to alarm the town and pick up any slaves trying to escape by sea. Mansell saw the futility of further attempts on the place, and on June 4, he set sail for Alicante, which he reached four days after. There he received letters from England directing him to send home the *Vanguard*, *Constant Reformation*, *Rainbow*, and *Antelope*. On the 13th the fleet sailed for Malaga, and after sighting twelve sail of Flemmings "off Cape Legat"[60] on the 16th, it anchored five days afterwards in Malaga Roads. The *Lion* was now found to be unserviceable, and Mansell decided to send her home instead of the *Vanguard*. Four other vessels were also declared unfit for service,[61] and on July 12, when the fleet was some three or four miles off Cadiz, the ships ordered home took leave of the Admiral, "4 or 5 pieces of ordnance being discharged on both sides for a farewell."[62] Mansell himself was not long in following these vessels to England. The turn of affairs on the Continent had made it imperative for the Government to concentrate all available ships in the Channel, and on the 28th of July orders were issued for Mansell's

(60) Cape de Gata (or Gates).

(61) *Marigold*, *Primrose*, *Restore* and *Zouch Phoenix*. Journal of Algiers Voyage.

(62) Ibidem. These reached England by August 9 if they are the 4 King's ships and 4 merchantmen mentioned in a letter of Sir H. Mainwaring to Lord Zouch as having arrived. S. P. Dom, Aug. 11, 1621. But as the *Red Lion* and *Convertive* were at Malaga on July 24, and estimates were made for bringing them away, Mansell must have decided after all to leave the flagship behind and send on the Vanguard. See July 24, S. P. D. 1621.

return to the Narrow Seas.[63] After an uneventful voyage the expeditionary fleet arrived in the Downs on September 22, and its arrival must have given great satisfaction to James and his ministers, however unsuccessful were the results of the operations off Algiers. It was but another proof of the importance of the marine to England. Information had been received that much pillage was being done upon English shipping by the Bretons under colour of the Rochellers, so that English vessels were unable "to venture near without an escort." Reports, too, were circulating that the French were collecting large numbers of ships in all their ports, "to be joined by other Spanish vessels and to attack Ireland, in order to divert the King from sending succour to Rochelle."[64] But however true or false these reports might be, the return of every available ship to home waters seemed of the utmost importance to the Government, who listened with deaf ears to the earnest entreaties of Digby, then on an embassy to Vienna, requesting the continuance of the fleet in the

(63) Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. D. 1621. Anthony Hill, writing to Nicholas on April 28, said that the seas were "full of Dutch men-of-war. Moyle Lambert's fleet against Dunkirk has been augmented." S. P .D. 1621. And Sir Dudley Digges writes on Aug 9, to Carleton, that "the East Indian merchants are very anxious to shake off their conjunction in trade with the Dutch by the treaty now on foot; the English are very ill-used there (in the East) and are so exasperated that a rupture is inevitable, unless the States send over some impartial men to join the merchants in the treaty." S. P. Domestic. Richelieu, too, was raising a fleet to attack La Rochelle, and French ships were becoming a menace to English shipping.

(64) S. P. Dom., Sept. 28, 1621. Naunton to Buckingham. Richelieu's work at the head of the French Government was now beginning to show itself. His great aim was to raise a fleet, and by the year, 1621, he was able to attack Rochelle with 30 vessels, augmented to over 40 early in 1622.

Mediterranean, "as the best argument for the restitution of the Palatinate."[65] James, however, showed his accustomed dilatoriness and hesitation, and in the meantime Mansell had begun his homeward voyage.

Though the immediate results of this expedition were insignificant, they nevertheless proved most conclusively the weakness of the naval administration and the pusillanimity of the Government. From the commencement, Mansell and his subordinates, however wanting they might be in ability and reputation, had their hands tied by the instructions issued to them, and thus had no chance of adopting the old Elizabethan tactics of bold and energetic measures. Their movements were characterized by slow and uncertain action. The pirates were quite unprepared for the English attack, yet the cutting-out expedition, which should have ended in the utter destruction of the enemy's ships, was a total failure.[66] Spain's refusal to co-operate with Mansell, and the latter's continual anxiety over instructions from England which might give him more freedom, hampered all offensive operations. The Admiral knew only too well the King's desire that no ships should be risked unnecessarily,[67] and he feared the intrigues and hostility of his enemies at home too much to dare any enterprise which might endanger the fleet, and so give to Buckingham's opponents additional weight in their accusations against the favour-

(65) Corbett: 'England in the Mediterranean.'

(66) There was not even a boom across the harbour when the English arrived, and no attempt at all was made to fire the attacking fleet, which could have been done quite easily by night and with a north wind. See note to 'Journal of Algiers Voyage.'

(67) It was to be the same in the Cadiz and Ré expeditions.

ite.[68] The want of light cutters in the fleet made the attack upon the pirate vessels very difficult of execution, and the calm winds that prevailed during the operations were distinctly discouraging to the brave captains manipulating the fireships. But the fact that the attacking vessels got well among the Algerine fleet, and discovered no opposition whatever to their freedom of movement, owing to the laxity of the pirates in placing few sentinels on board their boats, demonstrated only too clearly the ineptitude and incapacity of Mansell and his subordinates.

Yet if England gained no material advantage from the undertaking against Algiers, but rather saw her prestige on the Continent experience a still further diminution, it was otherwise with Spain. That power, whose astute envoy, Gondomar, was in no small measure responsible for the ultimate despatch of the expedition, and whose mind was set at rest when he saw that the fleet carried no soldiers on board, and that the captains were of little repute,[69] reaped without doubt the immediate fruits of the enterprise. The Spanish fleet, preparing for future eventualities, was able to keep its numbers intact and its strength undiminished. Spanish seas were policed by the ships of another nation, whose own fighting force greatly deteriorated through service and want of repairs, and com-

(68) It was undoubtedly Buckingham who got the command of the expedition for Mansell, and the latter's success or failure would consequently be of great importance to the Lord Admiral. Monson's comments on the expedition and its commander are of little value, as being in all probability from a mind full of animosity and antagonism towards one, who had been instrumental to a certain extent in driving him from the post of Admiral of the Narrow Seas in 1616.

(69) He had no doubt worked upon both James and Buckingham to this end. See State Papers Venetian, August 10/20, 1620.

munications with Flanders were thus left open to Spain in consequence of the Dutch fleet acting against the pirates, though independently of Mansell's squadron.[70] Spain knew full well that the expiry of the truce with the States was approaching, and the diplomatic intrigue which would draw the Dutch to follow the English to the Mediterranean in 1620, would thus assure the open sea route between herself and Flanders.

Philip had thus gained the initial move, but at what a cost ! England had for the first time ploughed the waves of the Mediterranean with the keels of her Royal ships, and Spain's had been for the most part the directing influence which had brought this about.[71] Having once planted her feet in that sea where the Spaniard had held almost complete sway for many years, England saw her future path clearly and unmistakably marked out before her,—a course which was ultimately to lead her to be the instrument of the naval ruin of that nation, through whose intrigues she had first steered her path to the southern sea.

(70) Spain had well laid her plans, and had intrigued sufficiently to cause a postponement of the departure of Mansell's fleet till she herself was ready. When that time came, and Spinola had begun his march, England's fleet was no longer a menace—rather was it a help, even though Spain was suspicious, as always, of its ultimate intentions. France was busy with the Huguenots and had no fleet. There were chances of Savoy being won over by the Spaniards, and the Turks were just now impotent. See letter of Trivisano, Ven. Resident at Florence, to his Govt. Nov. 25/Dec. 5, 1620.

(71) As the expedition against the pirates had been preparing for at least three or four years, it cannot be denied that it might have been indefinitely postponed, even in 1620, had not *other circumstances* intervened to hasten on its departure.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.
(From a contemporary print, 1625.)

CHAPTER V.

BUCKINGHAM AND THE "GRAND COMMISSION." 1624—1628.

When Charles and Buckingham returned from their fruitless errand to the Court of Philip IV. of Spain, their minds were resolutely bent upon breaking off all negotiations with that monarch. The glamours surrounding the Spanish marriage were now dissolved, and whatever the young Prince's sentiments towards the Spanish Court might be, those of Buckingham were bitterly hostile to a nation which had shown only too clearly a preference for his room than for his company.[1] With an intense longing for revenge the favourite threw himself earnestly into the arms of the Anti-Spanish party, and to get even with Olivarez, Spain's Prime Minister, was not among the least of his motives for henceforth raising his voice in favour of war with the Spanish power. When once his mind was concentrated upon carrying through some project, Buckingham could brook no opposition to his desires, even on ordinary occasions. But urged on, as he now was, by private animus, it was extremely dangerous to attempt thwarting his wishes. Hence his bitter antagonism to those members among the Commons, who set themselves in opposition to the various designs which his fertile but erratic brain was now planning.

In October, 1623, the Duke had been among the most popular of James' subjects. For once his wishes had coincided with those of the greater part of the nation, and

(1) His farewell words to Olivarez are too well-known to need citing.

had he possessed but the tact and discretion of an accomplished politician, his onward course would have been nothing but a triumphal progress. But his was not the nature to smooth over difficulties and surmount obstacles without leaving behind traces of bitter hostility, and his last remaining years were destined to find him the most hated man in the three kingdoms. Before the enthusiastic welcome that greeted him on his return from Spain had subsided, he was throwing himself, heart and soul, into the great project which his restless ambition and boundless arrogance were pressing him on to execute. Only one thing stood in the way of the realization of his dreams, the lack of funds, but even this difficulty he was determined to overcome, if rash promises and indiscreet presumption could accomplish anything.

Parliament was summoned for February 14, and the impetuous favourite, fondly relying upon his ephemeral popularity, fully expected to carry with him in his ambitious schemes that body of men, upon whose decisions depended his cherished hopes. But his expectations were doomed to disappointment.[2] Not even the eloquence of the Court party could dissipate the suspicions and mistrust with which the Commons regarded Buckingham, and the assembly listened with visible impatience to the report of the Spanish negotiations, report, be it said, as touched up and trimmed by the favourite's hand. But amid all the excitement of debate one thing was ever uppermost in the minds of all. War must be resolved upon, though in what form, and under what conditions, no one could then conjecture.[3] Speaker after speaker

(2) However well disposed Parliament felt to the favourite in their mutual desire for war with Spain, their almost universal hatred of this upstart was ever present in their minds.

(3) This was a sore point with the House. The King persis-

gave his opinion with a vehemence that filled the members with an enthusiasm such as was calculated, as Sir John Coke aptly remarked, to make each one feel seven years younger.[4] But it remained for Sir John Eliot to give the final touch.

"They were speaking enough," he said with emphatic gesture, "and better for them now to do than to speak. Let them look to their forts and their fleets. At the last conference it had been signified to them that several of our ships were at present stayed in Spain. Let his Majesty be counselled of the urgency of immediately providing a sufficient fleet. War alone now could secure and repair them; and in such a cause let them obtain the special funds required for additional ships, by enforcing arrears of penalties against recusants."[5]

There was no resisting this appeal. A petition was sent to James requesting that the treaties with Spain should be broken, and within two months the King received sums from Parliament and Clergy amounting to nearly £400,000.

Buckingham had scored a success, but it was at a cost which he little dreamt of at that particular moment. James only desired a continental alliance for a war in Germany, the House a purely naval expedition, while Buckingham wished both naval and military operations.[6] Between such diversities of views what was to be the fate of the Royal Navy?

The state of the Narrow Seas was not at this time all

tently refused to give them any idea against whom war was to be made, and even up to the departure of the Cadiz Expedition, secrecy as to its ultimate destination was steadily maintained.

(4) Forster's 'Life of Sir John Eliot.'

(5) Ibidem.

(6) Gardiner: History of England under Charles and Buckingham.

that could be desired. Pirates were once more infesting British waters, and their speedy craft made it an almost impossible task for the slow-sailing vessels of the Royal Navy to come up with them.[7] On January 9, 1624, Captain Chudleigh[8] of the *Charles* received instructions "to clear the coast of pirates between St. Helens, Isle of Wight, and Dungeness, to repress the insolences of men-of-war in violently rescuing ships or prizes in the harbours or on the coasts, to prevent any traffic between the inhabitants of the coasts and pirates, and to be careful of his own stores."[9]

Was the last-mentioned detail, we wonder, an indication that little money for Navy purposes could be hoped for out of the subsidies which Parliament was expected to grant? James' extravagance and the extent of his debts were so well-known, that no one would be surprised at such a contingency actually occurring. But such should not now be the case if Buckingham's energy and activity counted for anything. That restless spirit was exerting itself to the utmost for its own ends, and the task of setting out the fleet became with him a pleasure, constituting, as it did, but a part of the design upon which he had so strongly set his heart.

Towards the end of March the favourite was inspecting the ships in course of construction at Chatham, and he strongly emphasised the urgent necessity of laying in provisions for the fleet. He even advanced £10,000

(7) This was always a great complaint among our captains. See Chudleigh's letter to Conway, S. P. D. Nov. 18, 1623; also various other dates, July 9, 1627, etc. It was especially noticeable in the Algiers Expedition.

(8) He was knighted in the following year, Sept. 22, 1625.

(9) Nethersole to Carleton, S. P. D. March 31st, 1624. The Navy then consisted of 31 ships, but most of these were in need of repair. See Burrell's account of present state of the Navy, S. P. D. Vol. 68, 161.

out of his own private purse, and pressed on other men of influence to lay out large sums of money, to be refunded out of the grants made by Parliament.[10] On April 18, a warrant was issued to equip 12 ships with everything ready for sea, "but the House is still jealous of his Majesty and desires some public manifesto, fearing that when the money is given, a rotten peace may be made, the rather because though the ships are victualling, no mariners are pressed."[11] A suspicion indeed well justified, for only too often had the nation received ample proofs of the double-dealing of James and his Council, in respect of the Navy and its administration.

But this time everyone was in deadly earnest. In the following May, Sir Ralph Bingley was instructed not to interfere in a struggle between a Dutch fleet and some Dunkirkers which had sought refuge in the Downs,[12] and orders were issued that same month to set out 30 merchantmen, in addition to the 12 Royal vessels then preparing. No wonder Spain had decided to treat courteously English vessels calling at her ports![13] She saw that her influence at the English Court had vanished, and even the outcry of indignation which the Amboyna massacre aroused in England when the news first reached London, was hushed for a while by the Government that had just concluded a treaty with Holland and had consented to aid the States with 6000 men for two years.[14]

(10) S. P. D. April 11, 1624.

(11) S. P. Dom. April 18, 1624.

(12) The Dutch finally came to blows with this squadron of Spanish vessels, and each side lost a ship in the encounter. Clowes' 'History of the Royal Navy,' Vol. II. p. 57.

(13) See Eliot's letter to Buckingham. S. P. Dom., Jan. 10, 1624.

(14) This treaty was made on June 5, 1624. Amboyna, in the Moluccas, had been taken by the Dutch in 1607, and a factory had

There was now no questioning the stern determination of James and his Council, and owing to their wish to enlist the services of Holland, a long time elapsed before the subject of reparation for indignities practised in the East by the Dutch was raised by the English Government. During the concluding months of 1624, the work of pushing on the ships was attacked with extraordinary zeal. While Wilbraham scoured the Channel for pirates between Portland and Dungeness, Chudleigh, in the *Speedwell*, conveyed Count Mansfeldt to Flushing on October 13. But the return journey was disastrous. On November 1, the *Speedwell* suffered shipwreck with the loss of many lives, and Mansfeldt himself, who had decided to cross once more to England, narrowly escaped death by drowning.[15] This brave but needy adventurer had been doing his utmost to urge James to despatch a force to Germany, and had, at the same time, received offers of assistance from France. The King consented to give him 12,000 men, and a large sum for present needs. The negotiations for a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria were concluded in November, and England, France, and Holland, before the end of the year

been established there by the conquerors. In 1619, the English obtained the right to trade at this Dutch settlement, but commercial jealousy impaired any good feeling existing between the two nations. In February, 1623, the Dutch accused the English there of conspiring with some Japanese to take their fort, and in consequence they tortured and finally executed several factors after a mere pretence of a trial. It was not till after the Dutch War of 1651-4, that England received reparation for this deed. Clowes' 'Hist. of Royal Navy.' Vol. 1, p. 27.

(15) This ship was the old *Swiftsure*, re-built and re-named the "Speedwell." It is sad to relate that at this wreck "there was an utter absence of subordination among the crew." But discipline, both in this reign and Elizabeth's, was always very ill maintained. See Oppenheim, 'Royal Navy under James I.'

1624, found themselves in mutual accord, each ready to press on more vigorously the war in Germany. Holland undertook to aid France with 20 ships for an attack on Genoa, and Buckingham consented to supply a like number of English vessels.[16] In spite of friction between English and French ships in the Channel, and regardless of Richelieu's duplicity in the affair of the Valteline[17] and his reluctance to send the promised French troops to join Mansfeldt, the marriage treaty seemed once and for all to have cemented a friendship between England and France, which, it was fondly hoped, foretold the speedy downfall of the Spanish power in Flanders, and the restitution of the Elector Palatine to his ancestral dominions. But an incident, early in 1625, completely changed the aspect of affairs. On January 8, the Duke of Soubise[18] captured six of the Royal vessels of France near Blavet, and civil strife broke out afresh between Louis and "those of the pretended religion." From this time, despite the marriage between the two crowns celebrated in June of that year, France and England drifted apart once more, only to find themselves two years later renewing the bitter warfare, which for centuries had so constantly broken out between the two rival nations.

The Blavet incident created a great impression in England. Recollections of the Amboyna massacre began

(16) Gardiner: Hist. of England under Buckingham and Charles. Vol. II. p. 148.

(17) During the negotiations for the marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, Richelieu had verbally, if not in a more definite way, promised to aid Mansfeldt in his operations in Germany. But a league having now been made between France, Savoy, and Venice, he wishes to "forget" his obligation.

(18) A brother of the Duc de Rohan and leader of the French Protestants.

to revive in men's minds, as the insolences of the Dutch ships in the Channel continued with increasing force. The troops which Mansfeldt had taken to Holland had been swept away in hundreds through disease and want of victuals, and when the story of their sufferings was known throughout England, the nation was driven to the highest pitch of exasperation, especially when news came from Amsterdam that "the chief instrument of such notorious cruelties (in Amboyna) was permitted to walk up and down that city free and unpunished." Was it a cause for surprise that we were sadly fallen in the esteem of other nations?" To increase still further England's difficulties, the Spaniards were mobilising a huge fleet in their ports for a destination unknown, but which was suspected to be Ireland itself.[19] In addition to this, the French Government sent to claim the squadron of English vessels, which, by the marriage treaty, James had consented to lend for service against "whomsoever except the King of Great Britain."[20]

On March 27, James breathed his last, and in the following month, his successor, "who understood better than his father the value of maritime power,"[21] celebrated his first public appearance by a visit to the fleet at Blackwall.[22]

(19) Spain had already, in April, 1624, sent a fleet of 52 ships and 12,000 men to Brazil to re-take San Salvador, captured the previous year by the Dutch. Now she sends another large force as a reinforcement. This put to sea "some five weeks past," says the Lord Deputy of Ireland, writing to Conway on March 6, 1625. S. P. Dom.

(20) Gardiner, quoting marriage contracts. This decision on the part of James gave great offence, and led to much trouble and ill-feeling.

(21) Oppenheim: 'Eng. Hist. Review.' (Article in).

(22) Gardiner: 'History of Eng. under Buckingham and Charles, 1624-8.' Vol. II. p. 172.

It was a wise proceeding, and seemed to augur well for the future of the Navy. But although the new monarch took a great interest in the nation's bulwark, all naval affairs were left in Buckingham's hands, and the great hopes which Charles' accession had raised among the majority of the people, were destined to be shattered ere many weeks had passed. Both England and Spain were now preparing vigorously for war, though as yet no declaration had been made. The activity in the English dockyards and in the ports of Flanders daily became more pronounced,[23] and in spite of pirate depredations, and the indignation caused by the Amboyna massacres, the Council decided to ignore the vehement protests raised on all sides, and to postpone all thoughts of reparation, since the Dutch offered 20 ships as a reinforcement to the fleet, and at the same time declared that the perpetrators of the infamous deed should be punished. Nothing now was wanting but money, and the opening of Charles' first Parliament was awaited with anxious yet enthusiastic eagerness.

Meanwhile Buckingham had been doing his utmost, by a series of politic measures, to pave the way for a good understanding with the Commons.[24] But all his efforts proved fruitless. Never till the favourite's eyes were closed in death could Parliament feel that the country was safe from ruin and destruction, and the declaration of war which Spain launched on May 12 filled the minds of the serious with the gravest apprehensions, though

(23) "I counted at Dunkirk 70 ships, including 9 of the Spanish King's, and 7 others almost finished." Egidio Onivers to Marco Moens in Venice. S. P. D. April 29, 1625.

(24) Among other things, he had persuaded France to promise £100,000 to Denmark for war expenses, to continue paying for 7 months more her subsidy to Mansfeldt's army, and to reinforce that army with 2,000 horse. Gardiner's 'History of England.'

outbursts of joy greeted the proclamation which men fondly hoped would bring back the prosperous days of Elizabeth.

But before the historic walls of Westminster were to hear once more the eloquent words of Eliot and Phelps, of Pym and Wentworth, an event took place which caused a great sensation throughout the country. Shortly before James' death, and in accordance with the treaty of marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, Louis had obtained the promise of eight ships from the English Government. In April, 1625, he sent word to his ambassador to claim these loan ships from Charles, and the *Vanguard*, with seven other vessels, was despatched to the French coast. Grave complications arose over the proceedings. At first it was announced that the vessels were intended for an attack upon Genoa, in conjunction with Dutch and French ships, but on the arrival of the small squadron off Dieppe, under Captain Pennington, it was openly alleged that the vessels were intended for service against the Rochellers. At this news the indignation was intense. Pennington himself refused to hand over the ships without an express command from Buckingham or Charles, who were both hoping to hear of peace being made between Louis and Rochelle before finally signing the order for the delivery of the vessels. Hitch after hitch occurred, and Louis was getting impatient. The Dutch loan ships had already set sail to join the French off Rochelle, yet Pennington still refused to hand over the *Vanguard*.

"A kennel of rank pirately rogues were abusing the good nature of the French Admiral,"[25] wrote the stout old seaman to Lord Chamberlain Pembroke.[26] "His

(25) The 'Duc de Montmorency.'

(26) Died April 10, 1630. He was, before his death, Steward of the King's household and Governor of Portsmouth.

people swear that they will be hanged or thrown overboard before they will fight against Soubise," and excuse after excuse was put forward in the hope of postponing the evil day on which the ships were to be handed over.

The owners of the merchant vessels, which formed seven out of the eight ships under Pennington, complained that they had no security for the safety of their property, though Buckingham had stated that the French ambassador had agreed to a full valuation being rendered, so as to ensure indemnification to the merchants in case of loss.[27] But the sturdy sea-salt in command still remained obdurate. He would rather, he said, put his life at the King's mercy at home than go upon the terms stated. Let him suffer in England rather than be employed where he was sure to bring dishonour upon himself. The men, too, were of like mind. Nothing would induce them to quit the ships, or see them carrying any flag other than that of the old country. They even threatened to mutiny, and Pennington himself had the utmost difficulty in appeasing their wrath.

Throughout the month of July the negotiations continued. At last, on the 25th of that month, the crew of the *Vanguard* exasperated beyond control, took matters into their own hands, and, hoisting sail, they made for England without "acquainting me with it."[28] But such an action accorded well with Pennington's own desires, though, on his reaching Portsmouth, he was immediately ordered to set sail once more for the French coast and deliver up his ship.

On October 5, the transfer took place, and with the single exception of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who refused to give up his vessel, the *Great Neptune*, and who sailed to

(27) S. P. Dom. July 19, 1625. Buckingham to Pennington.

(28) Pennington's letter to Charles. July 27, 1625.

England "in defiance of Pennington and Effiat alike,"[29] the squadron was put into the hands of the French Admiral. None of the men would consent to serve under the French flag, and they made their way back to England to swell the ranks of the discontented thousands who were swarming at the ports, bitterly cursing the hard fate that put naval matters under the control of a profligate courtier, supported by a monarch whose obstinate bigotry and narrow-minded views prevented him from keeping with the spirit of the times.[30]

(29) The Marquis d'Effiat was the French Ambassador who had negotiated for the ships, and who had, in April, 1625, been highly pleased with the size and quality of the vessels. See his letter to Ville aux Clercs, April 1/11, 1625.

(30) For a full account of this affair of the loan ships, see Gardiner; 'Hist. of Eng. under Buckingham and Charles.' Vol. I, pp. 233-256. Also his documents illustrating the favourite's impeachment in 1626. (Camden Society). The King had no desire whatever to give up the ships, and by issuing contradictory orders tried to postpone the transfer till peace was declared between Louis and "those of Rochelle." His order to Pennington to give up command of the ships and yet to receive on board what men the French King was pleased to send, expressed well the state of his mind. Such confusing directions suited his purpose. Nicholas, his secretary, was sent to Dieppe to hasten on the transfer, and he proved an apt intermediary, for he openly ordered Pennington to give up the ships, yet secretly expressed the contrary wish. Clowes, in his 'History of the Navy,' makes Buckingham responsible for the duplicity. I prefer to think that Charles even more than Buckingham displayed dissimulation. According to the French authorities, the ships, especially the *Vanguard*, did little against the Rochellers, though the latter vessel was stated by one writer to have "mowed them down like grass." See Clowes' 'Hist. of Navy,' and transactions on replies for Parliament concerning Buckingham's impeachment, with Nicholas' letter to Pennington, May 6, 1626. Note also S.P.D. May 15 and 16, where the French assert that the *Vanguard* took little part in the attack on the Rochellers owing to its deep draught of water. The loan ships returned to England on May 1. See S. P. D. of that date.

While Charles was thus displaying, in the negotiations for the transfer of Pennington's squadron, that duplicity which was to characterize his whole reign, Parliament had assembled at Westminster on June 18. It was a momentous occasion. The members had united in that historic hall, firmly bent upon bringing Buckingham to task over his late transactions, and fully determined to maintain those rights which had been handed down to them from their forefathers, and upon which the present monarch's predecessor had tried his utmost to trample. "Never within living memory," says a modern historian, "had there been such a competition for seats in the House of Commons."[31]

The Lord Keeper, Williams, exposed the programme which Charles, inspired by the unworthy favourite, had drawn up. It breathed throughout the usual Stuart principle, that Parliament should grant the funds for projects whose execution should be left to others, without questioning the manner of carrying out such designs, or advancing any suggestions concerning the mode of expenditure of the money. "The late King," said the tractable keeper, "only desired the restitution of the Palatinate, and therefore supplied the Low Countries with troops, raised an army for Mansfeldt, prepared an invincible Navy to scatter the forces of his opposites in the circumference of their own dominions, in which preparations the King, that now is, is so engaged that he had rather go to his grave than not go on in this design."[32]

He might have added, with truth, the various fruits of Buckingham's impolitic steps, and the full extent of the ruinous measures with which his ambitious mind had overwhelmed England. For where were Mansfeldt's troops?

(31) Gardiner's History, Vol. I. p. 189.

(32) Dalton's 'Life and Times of Sir Ed. Cecil.'

Where was the invincible fleet which was to scatter the enemy's forces like chaff before the wind? The swampy marshes round the Scheldt mouths would answer the first question,[33] and within the next few months the terrible reply in all its hideous reality would be given to the second.

But Parliament had no interest in a design of which it knew so few details, and in an expedition whose destination was as a closed book to those who were thus called upon to provide the funds for its execution. Their one and only object was to impeach the author of all their troubles, the promoter of all the evil. "The Turks," it was said, "were still roving in the west, the Dunkirkers in the east, the cries came out of all parts. Their losses great, their dangers more, their fears exceeding all. No merchant dare venture on the seas, hardly they thought themselves secure enough on land. It was alleged by some, that as the King's ships were stopped from going to relieve them when it was ordered by the Council, so they were then. Though ready on the coasts, or in the harbours near them, where those rogues were most infestuous, nothing might be done. Nay, in some cases it was proved that the merchants had been taken even in the sight of the King's ships, and that the captains, being importuned to leave them, refused their protection or assistance, and said they were denied it by the instructions which they had."[34]

(33) Mansfeldt had taken 12,000 English troops to Flushing in 1624. Within a few months there remained but 3,000 to undertake land operations. Hunger and disease had done their work on the rest of the force.

(34) Forster: 'Life of Sir John Eliot.' Vol. I, pp. 252-3. The proofs of the allegations above were only too easy to find. On April 8, 1625, Bagg, writing to Buckingham, states that a Turkish

The temper of the House was undeniable. Charles knew only too well the utter impossibility of obtaining supplies from an assembly thus incited to a boldness of speech hitherto unknown, and in order to shield his favourite he angrily dissolved Parliament on August 12.

"Thus ended the first Parliament of Charles I., and it ended in a victory for the Commons. By declining to authorize the sending out of the great fleet, or granting a supply to victual or equip it, Parliament effectually crippled the resources of the projectors of the great design, and hung a millstone round the neck of the unfortunate man who was to command one of the largest fleets that had ever spread sail on salt water."[35]

Nevertheless, in spite of the crushing rebuff which Charles had received at the hands of his Parliament, the preparations for setting out the great fleet went steadily on. And all this time the coasts were suffering at the hands of pirates immense losses which the Royal ships would not, or could not check. The insolence of these freebooters, who "threaten that within two years they will not leave the king sailors to man his fleet,"[36] had become almost insupportable. Plymouth was constantly sending piteous appeals to the Council. No less than 1,000 mariners had been taken by pirates within the short space of twelve months, and during the few days in August preceding the dissolution of Parliament, 27 ships had been captured and 200 persons sold into slavery.[37] And ever went up the old story that the corsairs' vessels easily outstripped the Royal ships.

pirate had taken a Dartmouth ship and 3 Cornish fishing boats, even in the mouth of the harbour. See also May 7, and June 27, S. P. Dom.

(35) Dalton: 'Life and Times of Sir Ed. Cecil.' Vol. II. p. 119.

(36) S. P. D. Mayor of Poole to Council. Aug. 8, 1625.

(37) Aug. 12, 1625, S. P. Domestic.

Sir Francis Stewart, who was in charge of the Narrow Seas, had numerous complaints lodged against him for his inactivity,[38] but the merchants complained in vain. And to add still further to the alarm caused by the wretched state of the seas, rumours spread round that 40 ships, carrying 3,000 troops, were daily expected to sail from the port of Dunkirk. Harwich, too, was urging the Council to send vessels for its protection, and Pennington was detached with a small squadron to lie off the Essex coasts,[39] while Buckingham sent orders to Hippesley, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to arm four ships as a reinforcement to a naval force lying before Dunkirk.[40] But it was too late. On September 1, Pennington wrote to Buckingham that 18 sail had left Dunkirk for a cruise towards the west, and that a Dutch contingent had been beaten off after a two days fight.[41] And while the Dunkirkers were attacking our vessels, free and unmolested, a squadron of English ships was assisting Montmorency in an attack upon our co-religionists, the Protestants of the Isle of Ré.[42] How useful would the *Vanguard* and her sister ships have been at this moment!

(38) This afterwards became one of the points of accusation laid against Buckingham.

(39) Pennington had been watching Dunkirk privateers. On Sept. 10, Warwick, writing to Conway, advised that the ships should be stationed at the mouth of the harbour, for the enemy's strength lay in their frigates. See S. P. D. of that date.

(40) S. P. Dom. Aug. 27, 1625.

(41) S. P. Dom.

(42) Montmorency defeated Soubise near Ré on Sept. 5/15. Chevalier: 'History of French Navy.' See also, 'La défaite totale de l'armée du Sieur de Soubise par l'armée navale du Roy.' Bib. Nat. Paris. Contesse, 'Les héros de la marine française,' says that Montmorency had 22 English ships, 20 "olonnaises" and 24 Dutch "ramberges" under Hautain, but his figures are obviously exaggerated.

Strenuous efforts, however, were made to come up with the Dunkirkers. On September 7, Pennington was instructed to ply up and down on the Flanders coast, to assist and consort with the Dutch ships in everything to the advancement and honour of the Service, to apprehend all Spanish shipping, and never "to leave the roads of Dunkirk without a strong and sufficient guard of ships to keep them in."[43] In addition to this, Sir Edward Cecil detached a squadron of 24 English and 4 Dutch vessels under Sir Samuel Argall, on September 8, to ply up and down the Channel, but to return "within these nine days, for that I must not frustrate greater designs and spend time in vain, thus leaving the premises to your consideration and discretion in rest."[44] But the quest proved fruitless, though some prizes to the value of nearly £400,000 were taken, and Argall returned to Plymouth on the 16th, to join the main part of the fleet making ready to sail for Spanish waters. On October 1, Buckingham himself came to Plymouth to review the fleet and wish it God-speed, and after the arrival of a Dutch contingent of 20 ships, which entered the harbour on the 4th, the great expedition hoisted sail and steered its course for Cadiz harbour, to try and emulate the glories and triumphs of the '96 enterprise.

Leaving the details of this unfortunate expedition to another chapter,[45] and remarking the nervous anxiety of

(43) S. P. D. Sept. 7, 1625.

(44) Cecil's instructions. Sept. 16, 1625. Sir Henry Palmer was also given the command of a small squadron, as Admiral of the Narrow Seas, to scour the Channel off Dunkirk and the Downs, and uphold as usual His Majesty's honour. Palmer had succeeded Sir Richard Bingley, whose death occurred early in September. S. P. D. Sept. 25, 1625.

(45) See Chapter VI.

the astute Richelieu over the ultimate aim of the great undertaking,[46] one cannot fail to realize the precarious state to which England was now reduced, thus denuded of so many of her finest ships-of-war. Never had she been in greater need of a strong Navy. On all sides the seas were infested with pirates. Dunkirk privateers were ever on the watch, to profit by the absence of the mighty fleet trying its strength uselessly in fruitless operations, and England was continually gazing with apprehension towards Flanders, where fears of invasion from those parts kept her in anxious suspense,[47] and where, it was said, 200 flat-bottomed boats were preparing for a purpose unknown to English ministers. Richelieu's intrigues were also causing much uneasiness to Charles and his Council. The Duke of Soubise, one of the principal leaders of the French Protestants, had been defeated with the loss of most of his fleet near Rochelle, and had taken refuge in Falmouth harbour with several vessels. Richelieu despatched the Chevalier de Manty[48] to watch them, and the suspicious designs of the French Admiral, who wished to take or destroy these vessels, gave rise to much anxiety among the port officials. Urgent representations were made to the French to refrain from all hostile measures, and Charles was prepared "to resent the same (molestation) as if offered to his natural subjects."[49]

The situation was fraught with danger. Richelieu had not forgotten the capture of French prizes by Argall's

(46) Note Richelieu's letter to Blainville, Nov. 17, 1625. He was continually asking "ce que deviendra la flotte d'Angleterre, et ce qu'elle entreprendra."

(47) Hippesley to Conway, S. P. Dom. Decr. 2, 1625.

(48) Vice-Admiral of France.

(49) Carlisle to Conway. S. P. Dom., Dec. 1625.

cruise of the previous September,[50] though, with his hands tied by the Huguenots, by the dissatisfaction among the French nobility, and by his plans for carrying on the great projects against Spain which the death of Henri Quatre had for the time postponed, he had no wish to push England to extremes. Charles, however, had no such feelings of moderation. It seemed as if he was determined to put all discretion to the winds, and he was well seconded in his designs by the ambitious Buckingham. Though there was no money to draw upon, and consequently no possibility of paying the fleet or of setting forth the ships making ready to accompany Pennington to Holland,[51] the King decided to take measures for preparing a second naval force for sea.

Towards the end of 1625 he sent Ambassadors[52] to France, to complain of an embargo laid on English ships in French ports, and to demand the restoration of the loan vessels. Should the latter be denied them, a forcible course was to be taken. The King's peremptory tone was galling to the French monarch and his ministers, especially at a time when they were exasperated over the detention of French vessels in England. But Charles remained obdurate, and no doubt influenced by the return of the fleet from Cadiz, he refused to listen to French expostulations or excuses.

On January 6, orders were issued to raise a fleet of 30 sail, and Pennington was sent to Plymouth[53] to choose

(50) See p. 119.

(51) Pennington was about to take Buckingham to Holland, where the latter was to negotiate with the Dutch concerning operations against Flanders. It ended in the treaty of the Hague, signed, on Nov. 29, by England, Denmark, and the States General. See Gardiner: Hist. of Eng.

(52) Carleton and Holland. On Jan. 11, they had their first interview with Richelieu. Ibidem. p. 349.

(53) S. P. D. 1626. Pennington reached Plymouth on the 13th.

these vessels from the ships just returned from Cadiz. But the state of the Navy was pitiable in the extreme. Everything was in confusion. Men ran away as soon as they were pressed for the service, and the soldiers at Plymouth had no clothes and were forced to keep to their beds. "The Commissioners were unable to fulfil their agreements entered into with the merchants who contracted to supply the clothes."[54] Even the commanders of the Royal vessels were influenced by the prevailing disorder and chaos. "The Captains of the *Happy Entrance*, *Garland* and *Nonsuch*," wrote the Commissioners of the Navy, on January 13, to Buckingham, "were not aboard their ships, leaving them a prey to any who might have assaulted them. The Commissioners sent down clothes for the sailors, and there were no officers to take charge of them. If they (the ships) had beaten up and down, they might have prevented the loss of two English ships taken by the Dunkirkers off Yarmouth."[55] No wonder complaints were constantly being made that no diligence was exercised in the Service, and Sir Henry Palmer, who was doing his utmost to carry out the orders of the Commissioners to scour the seas for Dunkirkers, was almost at his wits' end.[56] It was the old story always being repeated. Everyone was clamouring for funds, but none were forthcoming. From Ply-

On the 17th he had 23 ships. Soubise wished him to take corn to Rochelle, but Pennington objected. It was "the third troublesome mission he has had within this 12 month, for he is sent with a company of unreasonable and unwilling men."

(54) S. P. D. Jan. 20, 1626.

(55) S. P. D. Jan. 13, 1626.

(56) It was not to be wondered at. The ships were too dispersed to be of any use. 4 were at Harwich, 3 to the west, 1 was gone to Flushing, and 2 were convoying ships going to Dieppe with a cargo of deer and horses. See Palmer's letter to Buckingham, Jan. 29, 1626. S.P.D.

mouth, Pennington was crying out for victuals. From Dover, Mennes was uttering loud complaints that he was at a loss to know what to do, being "with a company discontented and almost grown desperate." In the Downs, Palmer, who with great difficulty had at last collected a small squadron of vessels, was eager to put to sea, but was unable to do so owing to want of victuals. There was no money in the exchequer, and the Lord Treasurer scarcely knew which way to turn in order to find the necessary supplies. He "will shortly sleep ungently in his bed,"[57] wrote Coke to Conway, and no words were ever uttered of truer signification.

Yet despite his own difficulties and this evil state of affairs, despite the treaty between Louis and the Rochellers, and the French Government's willingness to smooth over the trouble, concerning the loan ships and the odium raised in consequence of the domestic difference between the King and Henrietta Maria, Charles was plunging deeper and deeper into the snare which Buckingham's impolitic measures were preparing for him. In reality it was merely a question of Richelieu's consummate skill matched against the incompetence and utter tactlessness of Buckingham and his royal supporter, and the more able statesmanship of the French diplomatist was gradually gaining the upper hand.

On February 6, Parliament assembled, and immediately turned its attention to remedying the abuses and redressing the grievances under which the nation was labouring. To Charles' impatient demand for money, their only reply was to draw up articles of impeachment against the prime mover of all the discord and dissensions, which were now threatening the country with ruin, and ere many months passed by, the King's second

(57) S. P. D. Dec. 13, 1625.

parliament had ceased to exist. Nothing would deter the House from continuing its attacks upon the favourite, and on June 15, exasperated beyond control, and obstinately determined to protect Buckingham at all costs, Charles dissolved the Chamber. Not even the pressing entreaties of the Lords could prevail upon him to allow them another two days for discussion. "Not a minute, not a minute," was his reiterated cry, when their desire was made known to him, and despite his low exchequer and the bitter regrets of those whose duty it was to take care of his purse, the King angrily refused all overtures for an amicable settlement.

From this imprudent and impolitic step nothing was destined to reap misfortune so much as the Royal Navy. Its very existence depended upon a steady flow of funds, which the dissolution of the Parliament now, once for all, bade fair to cut off completely. Charles, in his wrath, had silenced the combined efforts of his people's representatives by a legality at his disposal, but the cost of this petulant outburst was bound some day or other to rebound upon himself. In the meantime the complaints from the maritime population redoubled in force, the Commissioners of the Navy repeated their demands for money, the clamours of the miserable beings at the ports grew more and more menacing.

During the short session of Parliament little attention had been paid to the needy wants round the coasts. Most of the men-of-war were sadly in want of repairs. If money is still lacking it will break Pennington's heart, for "he must discharge the men, and let the ships ride destitute."[58] Men were "dying daily," those that were "well" were "mutinous." In spite of Palmer's vigilance, 24 ships had been taken by Dunkirkers, one of which was captured in full view of the Yarmouth

(58) S. P. D. March 4, 1626.

townsmen. Palmer did his best to cope with the trouble, but the want of power to take up pilots was always proving a "great hindrance." The Dunkirk privateers were ranging the seas, terrorising the inhabitants of the coasts, and ruining the merchants by their numerous successes. "The Dunkirkers," wrote Conway's son-in-law[59] to the Secretary, "have such good success at sea on these coasts, that if they fear not a stronger resistance on land, it may invite these to make further attempts, for this last week they have taken divers Hull ships laden with corn and lead, some say 7 but others 11."[60]

Yet all the time the King's ships abroad met not a single vessel of the enemy. The outcries from the ruined merchants were becoming still more pronounced, and Buckingham at last ordered Palmer "to send some good ships to ply in those parts where the Dunkirkers frequent, and never to come into any road or harbour until forced by weather."[61] But the Admiral had but four ships, one of which was unserviceable,[62] and whilst he was taking measures for carrying out the Duke's orders, a large fleet of Hamburgers, with munitions and provisions for Spain, successfully passed along the Channel.[63] In addition to this, reports of a mighty Spanish armament preparing in Philip's ports struck all England with terror, and a rumour of a French embargo laid on English ships increased still further the dismay throughout the land.

(59) William Pelham.

(60) S. P. D. March 12, 1626.

(61) Letter to Palmer, March 26, S. P. D.

(62) The *Lion*.

(63) Pennington reported the arrival of these in Tor Bay, but Buckingham's instructions to intercept them reached him too late to enable him to detain them there and bring them into port. See S. P. D. April 5 and 18, 1626.

In the following June, Charles took the momentous step of levying money from the maritime counties, and these shires were ordered "to join the port towns in setting out a fleet of 56 ships."[64] But owing to the strenuous opposition offered to this step he afterwards abandoned the idea. The Council of War early that month ordered a fleet of 6 King's ships and 24 merchantmen to be prepared for sea with all speed, in consequence of the rumoured preparations in Spanish harbours. But although its destination and even the date of its intended departure were announced, the fleet was still lacking provisions when Lord Willoughby,[65] its appointed commander, reached Portsmouth. Even when victuals did ultimately arrive, the owners of the merchant vessels refused to receive them on board because their ships had not been measured and rated.[66]

The confusion at Portsmouth was truly appalling. "The men," wrote Capt. Gyffard to Nicholas, "run away almost as fast as they are sent down. All things are so out of order that I cannot see any possibility for the whole fleet to go to sea for a long time."[67] On August 7, more than 1,000 men were wanted for the ships, but there was little chance of their being found, and meanwhile the expenses were mounting with alarming rapidity.[68] With the utmost difficulty a small squadron under Lord Denbigh put to sea early in September, and captured two French ships off the Isle of Wight.

(64) Gardiner.

(65) Afterwards Earl of Lindsey.

(66) S. P. D. July 23, 1626.

(67) S. P. D. August 3.

(68) The Commissioners wanted £14,000 to discharge certain ships, £6,000 to pay off the ships returning from the Elbe, and £30,000 to discharge the seamen of the fleet at Portsmouth. S. P. D. Sept. 8, 1626.

Willoughby himself at last set sail on September 21 from Stokes Bay, and came up with Denbigh's squadron on the 26th.[69] But little could be done owing to contrary winds, which continually "growing high, held us hovering up and down that we could make no way."[70] Mishap after mishap occurred in the fleet. The *Vanguard* proved leaky and was sent to Chatham. Ten other ships were in almost as bad a condition. The victuals were only sufficient for ten weeks, and the men became mutinous and refused to sail unpaid, preferring "to hang ashore than starve at sea."

On October 12, the fleet had reached the Bay of Biscay, and on the following day but 14 or 15 vessels of the whole squadron were found together. Before the end of the month Willoughby was compelled to return to Plymouth, and owing to the lack of funds a wholesale discharge of ships was decided upon. What would have been England's lot but for the Dutch fleet at sea it would be terrible to imagine, for the Spaniards had no less than a hundred vessels ready or in preparation. But in spite of the continued irritation at the French Court on account of the capture of merchantmen, Louis and his government, possessing no fleet, were powerless to resist, and the complaints of the French merchants were left unheeded. The lesson was not lost upon Richelieu. For some time past he had determined to create a navy that should rival even those of the two chief maritime powers, and with this object in view he had had himself appointed, in 1620, Grand Master of Navigation and Commerce.[71]

(69) Captain Noy's Diary. S. P. Dom. Vol. 58, 82. Dalton, 'Life and Times of Sir Ed. Cecil,' says Willoughby left Portsmouth in October. But he had reached the coast of Devonshire before that month had opened.

(70) Noy's Diary.

(71) What Richelieu did for the French marine would require

In December, 1626, the tension between the two courts had reached almost to breaking point. Reprisals on both sides were constantly occurring, and Buckingham's hope of goading the French to declare war was fast nearing realization.

It was a desperate game that the favourite was playing, even though the French possessed but few vessels of any repute. The state of the navy at home was deplorable. There was scarcely a ship that did not need repairs. The mariners were unpaid, and were everywhere threatening to mutiny. A number of them even forced their way into the Lord Admiral's presence to demand their arrears, and—O irony of fate! at that very time the young and volatile queen was providing a masque against the Court festivities at Christmas.[72]

Buckingham at last dared hold out no longer against the universal discontent. If the nation's bulwark were not restored, England's position would be almost hopeless. Early in November he advised that a survey of the Navy should be taken and a commission be appointed. To Louis' declaration of his determination to have on the ocean a permanent fleet of 45 ships-of-war,[73] Charles and his Council replied with an order to stay all French ships and goods, save "passage boats,"[74] and the question of peace or war was for the moment in dreadful uncertainty. Simultaneously with these edicts, a commission was

a whole volume to describe. Suffice it to say that he created a fleet for France, which, in 1631, rivalled even that of England, and which, but for the intense animosity between France and Spain, might have threatened England's very existence.

(72) Sir Benjamin Rudyerd to Sir Francis Nethersole. S. P. D. Dec. 1, 1626.

(73) See Gravière's 'Le Siège de la Rochelle,' p. 158.

(74) Issued on Dec. 3. S. P. D.

appointed to inquire into the abuses in the Navy,[75] and a small squadron of ships, part of the 20 vessels contributed by London, was ordered, under Pennington, to Havre, to take or destroy six or eight ships supposed to be riding there, which Louis had bought in the Low-Countries. But the Havre roads were empty, and after cruising about for some days in the hope of intercepting a fleet conveying Spanish troops to Flanders,[76] Pennington returned to Plymouth early in January, 1627.[77]

The outlook of political affairs in England at the beginning of 1627 was extremely gloomy. All friendly intercourse with France was now impossible. Richelieu had cast down the gage of battle when he registered his fixed determination to create a navy, and Charles and Buckingham, in their obstinate resolve to come to no compromise with the Parliament, merely played into the Cardinal's hands. But at present nothing would convince them that their policy was detrimental to the national welfare.

"I am glad to have set the ships free," said Lord Falkland,[78] in liberating some vessels of Lubeck and Dantzic which had been captured at sea, "as with the enemies upon his hands, the King could not afford to make more."[79]

(75) The Commissioners were 26 in number. See S. P. D. Vol. 41, 83.

(76) This was a fleet of 30 to 40 ships, having on board 4,000 men and treasure destined for Flanders. Louis had ordered them to be "friendly received," if they called at any French port. S. P. D. Dec. 24, 1626. See Note 14, p. 171.

(77) Pennington had expressed great disgust concerning the London ships as being of little worth, and the small quantity of victuals that he himself carried on board.

(78) Comptroller to King James, created Viscount Cary in 1620. Died in 1633. His son was the famous Cavalier leader who died at the first battle of Newbury, Sept. 20, 1643.

(79) To Nicholas. January 18, 1627. S. P. D.

His words were only too true. Better than his monarch did this noble viscount understand the situation of affairs, just as his son grasped more justly the political outlook before that fatal day of Newbury some sixteen years later.

Nevertheless the infatuated Buckingham continued to thrust the luckless Charles farther and farther into the abyss yawning before him. Slowly but surely Richelieu drew the unwary pair into still greater complications. France might experience immense losses at sea from English cruisers, but the great designs of the Cardinal, if brought to a successful issue, were well worth the risks taken.[80]

While Charles is thus exasperating his subjects by raising forced loans: while Dunkirkers "show themselves in a most insufferable *braverie* and threatening manner, so that seamen dare not issue forth, and the inhabitants live in continual fear of surprisal in the night:"[81] while the French negotiate with the States for "securing the dependance of the latter on France," in case of hostilities,[82] and Pennington sweeps the seas in search of French prizes, finally capturing ships to the value of nearly £70,000, Richelieu signs a secret treaty with Spain.[83]

It was the crowning stroke of the Cardinal's diplomacy. Though giving him little practical help, it nevertheless

(80) At the same time these losses were very considerable, and the prize money went far to pay the mariners' wages. On March 17, there were no less than 18 ships stayed at Dartmouth, and 16 at Plymouth. S. P. Dom.

(81) S. P. D. Feb. 17, 1627. Justices of Norfolk to Sir W. Becher.

(82) Coke to Conway, March 4, 1627, S. P. Dom.

(83) The treaty was signed on Feb. 28/March 2. Lavisse, 'Histoire de France;' but Gardiner gives March 16, and Borely, 'Histoire de la Ville du Havre,' says March 10/20.

freed his hands for dealing with England alone, and prevented any *rapprochement* between the latter country and Spain.

The two nations on opposite sides of the Channel were now drifting into a war which neither could avoid. Towards the end of April, each country issued a proclamation interdicting trade with the other, and in May the final rupture took place. "God send us well to do with these great enemies,"[84] wrote Hippesley to Buckingham, when the declaration of war was launched, and it was a prayer fervently repeated by thousands throughout the land.

The situation of England was indeed perilous. "The year 1627," says a well-known writer, "is perhaps the most critical in English diplomatic history in the first half of the century. When our fleet could not keep open the communications between Cork harbour and Rochelle, even in the face of a few privateers, and when Algerian pirates could descend upon Berehaven and kidnap with impunity over 200 of its inhabitants, it is hardly to be conceived that England could have resisted a combined attack from Spain and France."[85]

And England's friends in the German contest were in no position to inspire any great hope. Denmark was being driven towards the Baltic, and Holland had become lukewarm in her relations with the English Government.[86] Ireland, too, was a source of weakness. "There were no ships to defend the coasts, and even at Cork and Waterford the forts were dummies." Had Spain but been sincere in her negotiations with France, had she but despatched her fleet to Ireland—that fleet which Richelieu

(84) May 10, 1627, S. P. Dom.

(85) Preface to Ireland (State Papers) 1625-32.

(86) France and Holland made a treaty of alliance in August, 1627, for 9 years. See 'Le Mercure de France,' Vol. XIV, p. 14.

was ever longing for, but which finally came too late to be of service,[87]—when the English Navy was held off the roadsteads of St. Martin's, what disaster would England not have had to endure! Fortunately, for herself, her enemies were divided. And fortunately, too, Richelieu's policy was not to ruin England, but to dismember the Spanish Empire. For this end it was necessary to utterly destroy the *imperium in imperio* into which Rochelle had developed, but for the future struggle with Spain England might be of service. Measures therefore against England were not pushed to extremes, the crisis passed, and the island kingdom breathed freely once more.

The preparations for setting out the fleet for La Rochelle were now advancing. Urgent messages for aid had been received from the French Protestants, and Charles, though pressed by want of funds, and disappointed at receiving no assistance from Richelieu's enemies in France, energetically seconded Buckingham in his work. On June 11, the King personally inspected the fleet at Portsmouth. On the 20th, Pennington was ordered to sail with 13 ships "to go a route apart," and finally on the following Wednesday, June 27, Buckingham and the great fleet left Stokes Bay, little conscious of the terrible disaster which awaited them in the fatal island of Ré.

On July 11, the English were off St. Martin's in the Isle of Ré. The siege of the citadel began the following week, and continued till the end of October, when Buckingham and his gallant force, after being within an

(87) Richelieu was continually importuning Spain to send its fleet to Rochelle, but that latter power had no wish to still further weaken England. On October 10/20, 1627, he wrote to the Cardinal de Bérulle: "If the Spaniards refuse to come, I know not what to do." See his Lettres D' Etat.

ace of taking the fort, and with that the whole island, were compelled to yield before the ever-increasing difficulties caused by want of victuals and the incessant attacks of the French, and finally to evacuate the island.[88]

The blow dealt to the nation by the Ré disaster was almost unparalleled in the history of the country. And no one more than Charles and his favourite can be held responsible for this crowning calamity,—the former, by his dogged stubbornness in refusing to come to any compromise with the Parliament, and thus enable the fleet to be properly equipped: the latter, through his utter incompetence and overbearing conduct, which alienated the tried officers under him, and spread confusion and demoralization throughout the lower ranks of the soldiery.

And as if the want of unity among the officers at Ré was contagious, the same fell disease was appearing among the captains of the vessels left behind to keep the Narrow Seas. Sir Sackville Trevor, who had been despatched to the Elbe with a small squadron to take a reinforcement to Sir Charles Morgan then besieged in Stade, was unable to persuade Captain Duppa, at that time guarding Harwich with several vessels, to join him in cruising off Flanders.[89] The quarrel was scarcely over, when Trevor, who early in October was sent to Holland to destroy some vessels which were being built there for Louis XIII. showed his incompetence by an unsuccessful attempt upon the French ships. "His want of direction and command caused us to be condemned by the Dutch," wrote one of the captains[90] to Nicholas. Trevor succeeded in capturing one ship,[91] yet, "within five miles

(88) See Chapter VII for the operations at Ré.

(89) S. P. D. Sept. 16, 1627.

(90) Captain Alleyne (Allen).

(91) The *St. Esprit* of 800 tons. Clowes' 'History of the Royal Navy.'

was another ship, that would have delivered up had Sir Sackville sent but three of his worst ships to have taken her: and beyond her rode her great Admiral, a glorious ship without a gun in her, which might have been burnt."[92]

Such was the state of the Navy, to which an incapable and self-willed favourite had brought it. Yet despite the weakness of an administration which could thus bring contempt upon the glorious heritage of which Englishmen were so proud, it is pleasing to see that the traditions of Drake and Frobisher were not entirely forgotten. For bravery and pluck the English sailor was as renowned as of yore. There still existed such men as Hippesley, who only met his match when he had to encounter three Dunkirkers with his single ship, the *Sweepstake*, and who, though in great distress, "had brought the King of Spain's colours dragging in the sea in her stern," after capturing the Admiral's vessel.[93]

During the month of October Charles was doing his utmost to send reinforcements to Buckingham under Lord Holland, but without success. Even when the difficulties of victualling had been overcome, fate in the shape of contrary winds continued to baffle all attempts at getting away. Better was it perhaps that the ships never set sail, for they would have assuredly experienced a disaster only second to that which Buckingham was suffering.

"Such a rotten, miserable fleet, set out to sea," wrote John Ashburnham to Nicholas, "no man ever saw. Our enemies seeing it may scoff at our nation."[94]

(92) Alleyne to Nicholas. S. P. D. Oct. 1, 1627. It is curious that the Dutch took little notice of this attack in a neutral harbour. See Gardiner 'History of England under Buckingham and Charles.' p. 150.

(93) S. P. Dom. May 24, 1627.

(94) S. P. D. Oct. 26, 1627.

And as if to exemplify the statement, a fleet of 14 Dunkirkers, in November, "shot at several houses in Hastings, and afterwards declared if it had been two hours flood they would have battered down the town."[95]

On November 17, Buckingham was again in London, and welcomed by Charles as if he had come back from a victorious campaign. The return of the fleet spread dismay throughout all the southern ports, yet the favourite was in no wise discouraged, and strenuous efforts were made to restore once more the shattered squadrons. But the difficulties entailed by this were almost insuperable. With the 3,000 men brought back from Ré, the army in the southern ports now amounted to 12,000 all told. But their condition was deplorable. The Earl of Denbigh, with seven ships, arrived at Portsmouth on December 16 to push on the work, but little progress was made owing to lack of funds. Charles, in order to replenish his exchequer, raised £120,000 from the city by giving some royal lands in fee farm, but this did little towards paying off debts. The arrears due to the officers of the Navy and Ordnance alone reached the enormous figure of £250,000, and another £100,000 was needed to set forth a fleet of 50 sail for the following spring.[96] The ship-owners were required to take land in lieu of money, but they one and all objected. Their condition was most lamentable. For three years they had received no payments, and during the last twelve months they had lost upwards of 100 vessels.[97] Added to this, the misery at Plymouth was becoming more pronounced, by reason of the infection which was

(95) S. P. D. Nov. 13, 1627. These ships were still abroad on the 25th and unable to be found. See Conway's letter to his son, Nov. 25.

(96) S. P. D. Dec. 22, 1627.

(97) Ibidem.

spreading throughout the hundreds of mariners quartered in that port. "Many of the men," wrote Sir Henry Mervyn to the Lord Admiral, "for want of clothes, are so exposed to the weather, that their toes and feet miserably rot, and fall away piecemeal."[98] And in the midst of the horrors and confusion, the fishermen round the coast were petitioning for a fleet to convoy their boats towards the north. The year 1627 had indeed been fraught with calamity and disaster.

But the opening months of 1628 brought little relief to the government at home. Harassed on all sides by incessant complaints and petitions, and unable to find other methods for raising money, Charles was compelled much against his will to summon a Parliament. It was the only means left to him for meeting the demands upon his exchequer. And news, both from Rochelle and Germany, was so alarming that it was absolute madness to waste time.

"The King of Denmark is in such great distress, that without present succours the Sound will be lost, the English garrison in Stade will be broken up, our Eastland trade and the staple of Hamburgh be gotten from us; besides France and Spain are joined to root out our religion, and they (the French) have a store of landmen on the coast of Brittany to invade us."[99]

It was in such a strain that the King wrote to the Sheriff of Anglesey in February, 1628, and that same month deputies from Rochelle were beseeching him, with tears and entreaties, to keep his promise made at the end of 1627.[100]

(98) S. P. D. Jan. 6, 1628.

(99) S. P. Dom. Feb. 11, 1628. Stade surrendered in April to Tilly, the Catholic general.

(100) "Rest assured that I will send you such powerful succours that I will force the French King to give you a

Charles could hold out no longer. He tried to play a last card, in order to avoid calling a Parliament, by demanding ship-money from the inland shires, but the opposition to this measure proved too universal, and the King, yielding to the pressure of some of his counsellors, with whom Buckingham himself was said to have joined, summoned his third parliament.

In his efforts to save his favourite from the impeachment which he knew only too well would follow this step, the King used every expedient at his disposal, but it was imperative at last to bow to the inevitable. One thing he could do, however, to show his personal favour to the man whose defence he was determined "to place before his own interest."[101] On Feb. 20, "it was the King's pleasure in these stirring times to use again the ancient officers of the Admiralty," and the Commissioners of the Navy, who had been guiding the destinies of the naval defence of the realm since 1618, were discharged from their duties. The four principal officers resumed control under Buckingham as Lord High Admiral, and the favourite met the new Parliament with a demeanour more arrogant and presumptuous than ever, by reason of his increased authority over the naval administration.

The work of the Commissioners compared with the chaos that preceded their term of office had been admirable. They had found the Navy at their appointment in a most deplorable state. They now left it, in the number and burden of the ships, sufficiently powerful to assert that ancient prerogative of the nation—the supremacy of the Narrow Seas. At the end of Feb.

satisfactory peace; otherwise I will compel those who hem you in to make a hasty retreat. Yes, assure those of your town that I will never abandon you." (Translated) Pierre Mervault, 'Le dernier siège de la Rochelle.' p. 40.

(101) Duplessis' words in Raumer. Quoted by Lingard.

1627, the Commissioners could have put to sea no less than 75 vessels of all kinds, and this, too, exclusive of many of the best vessels at that time repairing in dock.[102] But want of funds for the victualling, repairing, and maintenance of the ships continually neutralized their praiseworthy efforts. Yet however useful the Commission had been, it was found "slow and cumbersome," and Charles on several occasions had made complaints to Buckingham concerning its dilatory methods. The Commissioners themselves, too, were not above suspicion, and Coke had taken it upon himself to keep several of them "under espionage."[103] Nevertheless, under the administration which Pepys[104] so aptly called the "Grand Commission," the Navy had become once more England's most potent factor in the political world, and from 1618 when it had "almost ceased to exist," it began that expansion which was finally to lead it to every corner of the universe, prepared to exert its powerful influence in almost all the great international questions of the future.

(102) This muster was made in order to compare the respective fleets of England, France, and Spain. France had 33 ships, and Spain's fleet amounted to 36 vessels, including 10 large galleons of 1,000 tons each. S. P. D. Vol. 237. 60.

(103) Clowes: 'Hist. of Royal Navy.'

(104) His Diary, March 14, 1669.

THE CADIZ EXPEDITION IN 1625. (From a contemporary Dutch print).

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITION TO CADIZ.

1625.

On May 4, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England, wrote to Sir Edward Cecil[1] offering him the post of Lord Marshal in the expedition preparing for Cadiz. This much coveted honour came as a surprise to the soldier who had seen little service outside the Low Countries, but the surprise changed to astonishment when he found himself invested with the supreme command some short time afterwards.[2]

Cecil was in Holland when he received the news of his appointment, but he immediately took ship on the 9th of June for England, bearing at the same time despatches to Conway[3] from Sir Dudley Carleton[4] and Sir W. St. Leger.[5] On September 5 he reached Plymouth, and the same day took over the command of the troops there from that veteran leader, Sir John Ogle.[6]

(1) 1572-1638. Third son of the second Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter, and nephew of James' minister, Salisbury. Cecil commanded the English contingent at Juliers, and in 1630 was appointed Governor of Portsmouth. Even after his failure at Cadiz he was always recognised as an authority on military affairs.

(2) Dalton's 'Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon.'

(3) One of the Secretaries of State, and later Lord President of the Council. Died January 3, 1631.

(4) Succeeded Winwood as Envoy to the States in 1616. Made Viscount Dorchester in 1628. Died 1631.

(5) St. Leger served in the Low Countries and was afterwards Lord President of Munster in Ireland. Died at Cork on July 2, 1642.

(6) 1569—1640. A military commander of good repute. He remained some 30 years in the Low Countries.

Stirring events had been taking place since Cecil's departure from the Hague. All England was moved by the preparations which were actively being pushed on for the expedition, which the King and his ministers fondly hoped would singe once more the King of Spain's beard, and be a fair revenge for the tutelage under which the Spanish crown and Gondomar, its astute representative, had so long held the England of James the First's time.

Little did Cecil dream of the insuperable obstacles, which, from the very outset, were fated to render abortive all the superhuman efforts exerted to make the Cadiz expedition a success. Parliament had refused to grant supplies sufficient even to meet the initial expenses of such an enterprise, and Charles, who had already begun that course of obstinacy and duplicity[7] which estranged so many of his subjects, and which ultimately was to end in his own ignominy and death, was in the sorest straits from want of money. Pirates swarmed in the Channel, preying upon English commerce, and terrorising[8] the coast towns from the mouth of the Severn to Dover cliffs. Grave fears were expressed for the safety of the Newfoundland fleet, and Buckingham, whose profligacy and revengeful spirit had done so much to embroil his country with Spain, and who later on was to involve England in a disastrous war with France, was lashing the nation to fury and wrath by his

(7) The case of the ships lent by Charles to the French king was still fresh in everyone's mind, and their being employed against the Protestants of La Rochelle had greatly incensed the nation.

(8) The Mayors of the western ports had repeatedly petitioned for permission to arm ships, for the purpose of guarding the Severn and other exposed parts, but usually had their petitions refused, Buckingham always fearing an encroachment upon his rights as Lord High Admiral.

evil influence over the royal mind, and his utter incapacity and mismanagement of naval matters.

Such was the state of affairs when Cecil reached Plymouth, to take command of "one of the largest fleets that had ever spread sail upon salt water." On his arrival at the western port he found nothing calculated to inspire him with confidence. The army, on which Charles relied for upholding the honour and dignity of the nation, was merely an undisciplined band of raw levies, lacking all the material necessary for a warlike enterprise, and without even the means of feeding and clothing themselves. "The army is in a miserable condition for want of clothes," wrote St. Leger to Conway on September 8. "There are many that have not anything wherewithal to cover their nakedness."[9] What a contrast to the noble leaders and enthusiastic warriors who formed the expedition of 1596 under the Earl of Essex, and who added increased lustre to that wonderful age of maritime enterprise which characterized the reign of the Virgin Queen!

On August 26, "the chief intention" of the expedition was clearly stated to Cecil in the instructions issued by the King.[10] It aimed at the "protection and restitution of our dear brother and sister," the Elector of the Palatinate and his wife, and as the King of Spain was "discovered" to have "assisted in the extortion and oppression committed towards our dear Brother and Sister," the expedition was directed against the dominions of the Spanish monarch. To weaken and disable the enemy in his sea-forces and trade "by taking and destroying his ships, galleys, frigates and vessels of all sorts; by spoiling his provisions in his magazines and port towns; by depriving him of seamen, mariners and

(9) S. P. D. Sept. 8, 1625.

(10) S. P. D. Buckingham to Cecil.

gunners; by not suffering him to gather head from any part; by intercepting his fleets either going out or returning; and by taking in, and possessing some such place or places, in the many of his dominions, as may support and countenance our successive fleets." Such were the main objects contemplated by this great armament. In addition to this, the fleet was ordered to remain together, and the Commander-in-Chief was to use judgment and discretion in other details "following the advice of such a Council as is assigned unto you," and to be guided also by the counsel of commanders when circumstances required it.

The above instructions were issued to Cecil as "Lieutenant General and Lord Marshall of His Majesty's fleet and land forces now ready to go to sea." Buckingham, who, up to the end of July, was supposed to be going to accompany the fleet as Commander-in-chief, offered the supreme command to Cecil early in August,[11] retaining, however, "the pompous title of generalissimo of the fleet."[12] In a draft of undated instructions to Buckingham, the King had concluded with the following words:—"Yet do we straitly charge you to have a special care, principally to attend the surety and safety of our Navy, at all times, as the principal honour and bulwark of our Kingdom, the surety of your retreat and safety for the return of all our army."[13] Ominous words, indeed, and such as were likely to handicap a commander in an undertaking so rashly entered upon and so utterly mismanaged! Cecil had the discretion to have a saving clause inserted, which allowed him to execute any project "that might be dangerous, so long as it be by the advice of the Council of War," but such a charge so expressly

(11) Dalton's 'Life of Cecil.'
(12) Ibidem.
(13) S. P. D.

stated, and which put upon his shoulders the heavy responsibility of the whole safety of the nation itself, must have hung like a millstone about his neck. Little chance would he have, even if he desired it, of emulating the Elizabethan seamen, and of carrying out any successful enterprise requiring vigorous action and bold execution.

On September 15, Charles and Buckingham reviewed the fleet at Plymouth, the former remaining there till the 24th. During these ten days the King showed his deep solicitude for the welfare of the expedition, personally inspecting the crews and ordnance of many of the ships, and making himself thoroughly acquainted with the minutest details. James I. had sadly neglected the Navy during his reign. That "wisest fool in Christendom" thought little of the potent influence which a strong fleet could exert in the councils of foreign states. Charles, however, appreciated better than his father the value of the naval arm, and could he only have thrown off his Stuart pride and obstinacy, and adjusted matters satisfactorily with his Parliament, the annals of English history would not have been stained by such blots as the expeditions of the early years of his reign.

On October 4, the embarkation of the land forces took place. That same day the Earl of Essex[14] was sent with 40 sail to Falmouth to join the main body of the fleet off the Lizard, and he was followed shortly afterwards by a Dutch squadron of 20 vessels.[15]

(14) 1591-1646. Son of the Earl attainted in Elizabeth's reign. He was afterwards Parliamentary General in the Civil War. In 1639 he was second in command of the English army in what was called the First Bishops' War. Charles, in 1641, made him Lord Chamberlain and commander of his forces south of the Trent, but at the outbreak of the Civil War Essex sided with the parliament.

(15) Under William of Nassau, a natural son of Maurice, Prince of Orange.

Fifteen of these Dutch vessels accompanied the expedition to Cadiz. The remaining five made for Dover, intending "to go and lie in those parts for the better guarding of our coasts, and the more disturbance of the enemy's passage by sea during the absence of our fleet."[16] This latter precautionary measure was most imperative, and was more than justified by the state of the Narrow Seas. Only a few days before the departure of the fleet, Sir Samuel Argall had returned from his unsuccessful search for 18 Dunkirkers after a 7 days' cruise,[17] and another fleet was preparing at Dunkirk, to sally forth and fall upon any unlucky English or Dutch fishing boats which chanced to cross its path.

On October 5, the main body of the fleet left Plymouth, but not without the gravest misgivings on the part of its commander.[18] And not unfounded were these misgivings, for hardly had the fleet got clear of the harbour when the wind changed, and forced the ships to put back into Plymouth in the most disgraceful confusion, each vessel jostling the other, and little discipline being maintained amongst the various squadrons.

Two more days were spent in awaiting a friendly breeze, and at length, on October 8, the fleet left the Sound, still more discouraged by this unpromising start, which added one more bitter pang to the already over-burdened mind of its Commander-in-chief.[19] On

(16) Glanville's Journal.

(17) See Chapter V. p. 119.

(18) Cecil had written to Charles the previous day, deprecating the departure of the fleet so late in the year, and the dilatory proceedings during the summer which had enabled the enemy to get "all the intelligence that he can wish." S. P. D. Charles I. October 4, 1625.

(19) Cecil's return to Plymouth brought forth some sharp and acrimonious correspondence from Coke, who feared Charles' displeasure at the further delay of the expedition.

the 9th, the squadron under Essex rejoined the main body, and the whole fleet thus united proceeded southwards under a fair breeze.

It was an imposing sight which this assemblage of ships presented—the greatest fleet that had ever spread sail up to this time under more modern conditions. It consisted of 90 vessels and 6 "catches," having on board 5,000 seamen, and a land force of 10,000 men.[20] Divided into three squadrons, commanded respectively by Cecil himself in the *Anne Royal*, the Earl of Essex in the *Swiftsure*, and Lord Denbigh[21] in the *St. Andrew*, this maritime force, consisting of 9 King's ships, 30 merchantmen, and a number of Newcastle colliers, presented a spectacle sufficiently majestic to inspire every English heart with tumultuous joy. But spectacular effect does not win battles. Even at the outset the expedition began to show signs of future trouble. Victuals were short throughout the fleet, and on the 11th, the Council of War held on board the Admiral's flagship ordered the usual allowance for four men to be apportioned among five. Such a defect in the victualling of the force must have made even the most optimistic among the leaders nervous as to the ultimate success of the expedition.

On the 12th of October continual storms[22] were

(20) Glanville's Journal. In S.P.D. Charles I, 82 is given as the total number of ships.

(21) William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh; married Buckingham's sister, Susan Villiers; commanded the fleet in April, 1628, to relieve Rochelle. Fought in the Civil War, and died from a wound received in Prince Rupert's attack on Birmingham, April, 1643.

(22) This stormy weather proved disastrous also to shipping on the Dutch and English coasts bordering the North Sea. Three English men-of-war were cast away, with the loss of 240 men

encountered, and while the gales were at their fiercest, the *Long Robert* of 240 tons foundered, bringing destruction on its crew of 175 gallant Englishmen. Very few of the ships escaped the stormy weather without receiving serious damage, and the *Anne Royal*, Cecil's flagship, only weathered the gales by the merest chance. "Her mast grew loose, her ordnance too weighty for her, she would not hull[23] at all; her sailors for the most part insufficient and distracted. We were knee-deep in water, and in danger; and one danger it pleased God to prevent miraculously, for two of our greatest ordnance in the gunners' room broke loose at once and fell foul one upon another, otherwise they had beaten the ship to pieces."[24]

On the 14th fairer weather set in, and the wind began to be favourable to the fleet as it skirted the Spanish coast. A council was held on the 18th on board the *Anne Royal*, and Cecil was called upon to listen to a long recital of the serious losses which the fleet had experienced during the late storm. The *Dreadnought* was declared by its commander, Sir Berkeley Newcombe, to be "utterly unserviceable,"[25] and added to the discomforts brought on by these misfortunes was the distressing news that great numbers of the muskets on board were useless, and that the "bullets did not fit many pieces."[26] In addition to this, Cecil was called upon to settle a dispute between Lord Valentia and his master, which led to the order being issued that each

(Joshua Downing to Commrs. of Navy), and 21 Dutch ships were lost, and five driven into Dover. (Hippesley to Conway) S. P. D. Charles I, 1625.

(23) To lie with the head to the wind without any sail.

(24) Cecil's Journal. Novr. 8th. S. P. D. Charles I.

(25) Glanville's Journal.

(26) Ibidem.

nobleman was supreme in his own ship, but was "to defer as often as possible to the Captain."[27]

The squadrons of the Vice and Rear Admirals, separated from the main body in the late gales, rejoined the Admiral on the 19th, and the fleet once more pursued its way southwards, passing Cape Mondego in the early morning. On the following day a Council was held on the Admiral's flagship, and the momentous question of the destination of the fleet was finally settled. Cecil placed before the assembled members the purpose for which they were all speeding southwards, and only one point remained to be cleared up. Amongst other things, their instructions were to take and possess some place which could be utilized as a convenient base for the fleet. What was to be this base? Should they make for Cadiz, St. Lucar, or even Gibraltar?

The question of St. Lucar was speedily dealt with, for regarding "the bar of St. Lucar, by reason of the foul weather, and the time of the year, none of our pilots would adventure to carry our ships over."[28] Many of the Council were in favour of both Malaga and Gibraltar, but these were finally over-ruled, and Cadiz, with the "safe anchorage" at St. Mary Port, was agreed upon as a convenient spot for the disembarkation of troops.

The die was cast. The fleet now bore away for that historic spot, where nearly thirty years before those hardy Elizabethan sea-salts had planned and carried out that audacious expedition, whose successful issue had astonished all Europe, and had stirred Spain to its very depths, even raising the question of the deposition

(27) Ibidem.

(28) Sir T. Love to Buckingham, Decr. 17. S. P. D. Charles I. Monson in his tracts gives many interesting but scathing remarks on this question of St. Lucar. See Book II.

of Philip III., so indignant and enraged had the Spanish nation become on hearing of the capture and sack of Cadiz.[29] To no one more than to Essex must the mention of Cadiz have sounded like an omen of good luck, and visions of his father's prowess in 1596 doubtless incited him to try and emulate those daring Elizabethan warriors, at the moment when he himself was rashly entering the harbour without noticing if his squadron was, or was not, supporting him.

On the 22nd, the fleet arrived off Cadiz Harbour, and immediately Cecil gave orders to Essex to hasten into the port, and to lie in such order as to leave room for the other squadrons to take up their positions, while the ships containing the soldiers were to arrange themselves as conveniently near the shore as would allow an easy landing of the men. Essex, however, could not control his impetuous nature, and rashly entering the bay without awaiting the support of the remaining ships of his squadron, be brought upon the *Swiftsure* the combined fire of the town and of the ships holding the entrance to the port. Within the harbour were 15 or 16 of the enemy's men-of-war [30] occupying the bay in front of the town. On the approach of the English squadron they cut their cables and escaped, some towards St. Mary Port, and the remainder up the creek leading to Port Royal. Essex, it was thought, might have prevented their escape, but whether he refused to run the risk without adequate support from his dilatory squadron, or whether he pre-

(29) Monson's Naval Tracts.

(30) Glanville's Journal. The number of the enemy's vessels is variously estimated. Love, to Buckingham, says 6 great men of war from Naples, six from Brazil, 5 or 6 others and 15 galleys. According to the 'Journal of the Swiftsure,' there were 14 ships riding there, and 12 lying before the mouth of river at St. Mary Port.

ferred to anchor and await further orders, is uncertain. He, too, remembered full well Charles' charge with regard to taking no risks with the surety and safety of the Navy, "the bulwark of the Kingdom."

The flight of the enemy's ships was but one of the grave mistakes which mismanagement and misunderstanding caused this ill-fated expedition to fall into. Had the entry into Cadiz Harbour taken place at ebb-tide, scarcely one of these vessels could have escaped. The error was irretrievable, and a golden opportunity of obtaining possession of several fine men-of-war was thus entirely lost.[31]

Cecil and the Dutch squadron now entered the bay and cast anchor before the town. The Rear-Admiral's squadron, however, remained at the entrance of the harbour off St. Mary Port. A Council of War was immediately summoned on board the *Anne Royal*, and after a lengthy discussion it was decided to attack Fort Puntal, and not to risk the King's ships in naval operations against the town.

The Council judged wisely the uselessness of attacking Cadiz from the sea. The state of the town's defences was not such as it was during the expedition of 1596. In the latter year Spain was totally unprepared for the operations directed against her by the English government.[32] Her entire garrison then consisted of but 200 ill-fed, untrained soldiers, and her guns and defences were such that " the simplest negroes from Guinea would have had

(31) The *Admiral of Naples* itself was of 1,200 tons, and had on board 60 good " brasse pieces." Glanville's Journal.

(32) Monson says that nothing was suspected by Spain concerning Cadiz as the destination of the English fleet, but Oppenheim, in his comments, remarks that according to the Spanish authorities the intentions of the English fleet were known.

better fortifications."[33] The greatest secrecy had been maintained over the preparations for the voyage, though these had been going on for fully two years. Even Henry IV. of France was kept in ignorance, and Elizabeth's Prime Minister, Lord Burghley, was, up to March 20, totally ignorant of the exact object of the expedition.[34]

But it was quite otherwise in 1625. Spain had kept herself well posted as to the English preparations and intentions, though Olivarez, Philip's minister, incurred much blame for having provoked the despatch of the English fleet. Not without yielding good fruit had the cunning intrigues of Gondomar been sown, and Glanville, in his Journal of the Expedition, had good cause for stating that "we were confirmed in our opinions, that nothing of importance is done (publicly) in England, but the Spaniard hath intelligence of it with all speed possible."[35] Cadiz itself was now well fortified, " strong, and not to be meddled withal, but by siege,[36] and " there were discovered 4,000 or 5,000 men of the enemy's forces in the island, and three or four companies of Horse."[37] What chance had the English of success against such odds, with their hastily raised levies of ill-clothed, ill-paid soldiers, forced into a campaign against their will, and led by a soldier with no maritime experience whatever, whom " the sailors, vexed at his appointment, viewed with contempt ! "

(33) Monson's Naval Tracts.

(34) Ibidem.

(35) Glanville's Journal.

(36) Love to Buckingham. Kinsale, Decr. 17. S.P.D. Charles I.

(37) Cecil's letter to Conway, Novr. 9, 1625. S. P. D. Charles I. It is interesting to note, that, as far back as May, Sir James Bagg writes to Conway that he had received intelligence of the Spaniards fortifying Cadiz, and of their fearing the despatch of an English fleet thither. S. P. D. May 26, 1625.

On the 23rd of October an attack was made upon Fort Puntal by five Dutch ships,[38] twenty colliers, and three King's ships, the *Reformation*, the *Swiftsure*, and the *Rainbow*. The escaped enemy at Port Royal were left severely alone, as being "in effect our own already."[39] The fort mounted eight or nine guns, and these began to play upon the Hollanders who bore the whole brunt of their fire. After a sharp cannonade, in which the Dutch squadron suffered rather heavily, the attacking fleet drew off and awaited the arrival of the main body of Cecil's force.

The next day, William of Nassau, Admiral of the Hollanders, repaired to the *Anne Royal*, and bitterly complained of the inactivity of the colliers who had been ordered to second him in the attack on the fort. His indignation was certainly justified, for well he knew how his country would receive the news, and how his enemies at home would attribute the unsuccessful result to his youth and rashness. Cecil with great difficulty succeeded in appeasing the irate nobleman, and then ordered a general attack to be made upon Puntal fort. Going himself on board the *Swiftsure*, he directed Essex to begin the bombardment. Aided by the *Sapphire* and the *Convertive*, the *Swiftsure* maintained a gallant fight with the guns of the fort, but the Newcastle ships repeated their tactics of the previous day by ill-seconding the attacking squadron, and Cecil finally ordered them to cease firing and to draw out of the fight. And none too soon was this command given, for these unsatisfactory ships, "in whom there are as ill captains as ever were in the world,"[40] had become, by their erratic gunnery, almost as dangerous to their own side as to that of the enemy.

(38) These ships drew less water than the English men-of-war.
(39) Glanville's Journal.
(40) St. Leger to Buckingham. S. P. D. October 29, 1625.

Little effect being thus made upon the fort, Cecil ordered a landing force of 1,000 men to disembark and to carry the castle by assault. Unfortunately, Sir John Burgh, to whom was given the direction of the attack, rashly led his force right under the very walls of the fort, and in the fight several gallant officers were slain, including Captain Bromigham of the Duke of Buckingham's Company.

Burgh now drew off his troops a little distance from Puntal, and the governor of the place, seeing the numbers of the enemy, and rightly judging the futility of further resistance, discreetly entered into a parley with the besiegers, and finally agreed to capitulate. The whole garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were sent to the other side of the bay, though not before the Spanish governor had found an opportunity of complimenting Essex on the gallant display of the *Swiftsure* in the attack on the fort.[41]

The garrison of Puntal Castle numbered some 120 men. From these the besiegers obtained the information that Cadiz was strongly fortified, well victualled, and stored with plenty of munition. This was grievous news for Cecil's ears, but hiding his vexation and uneasiness he sent a force of 200 men, under Captains Gore and Hill, to garrison the captured fort, and then allowed the gallant Spanish governor to depart for Cadiz, doubtless hoping the latter would disquiet his countrymen in the town by an exaggerated recital of the boldness of the "cursed islanders."

The remainder of the troops and ordnance was now ordered to be landed at Puntal with all possible speed, and by early morning the whole invading force, save some 600 or 800 men in the ships below St. Mary Port, disembarked and encamped in the vicinity of Fort Puntal. Without

(41) When told whose ship she was, he remarked, "I think the Devil is there as well." Journal of the Swiftsure. S.P.D.

Photo:] *[Donald Macbeth, London.*

THE ISLAND OF CADIZ IN THE 17TH CENTURY.
(From a contemporary Dutch print).

losing much time, and in all probability keenly elated at finding himself in his true element on land, Cecil went ashore with Essex. A Council order directed that victuals should be landed for the army on shore, and that these provisions should be kept in Fort Puntal, to be used when required. A message from the Admiral also ordered the remaining land forces of the Rear-Admiral's squadron to be put on shore. The three divisions of the fleet were then directed to take up their respective positions, and preparations were immediately made for a forced march to Cadiz bridge, for the purpose of cutting off supplies destined for the town.[42]

Cadiz was at this time fully alive to the danger confronting her. On the arrival of the English fleet, the defences, which had been raised after the partial destruction of the town in 1596, were in excellent condition. But the garrison was weak, most of the soldiers having been requisitioned for the Brazilian and Mexican fleets, and in consequence the town was ill-prepared to meet a sudden attack.[43] If the English, on their arrival off the island, had made a well-directed assault, Cadiz might have suffered the same fate as that experienced in Elizabeth's reign. But dilatory proceedings at Puntal fort, coupled with neglect in the Home Intelligence Department, whose ignorance of Spanish preparations and the condition of Cadiz was most lamentable, frustrated all hopes of a successful and speedy issue. While the English were wasting valuable time off Fort Puntal, the Spaniards rushed reinforcements across the bridge of Zuazo, and when Cecil was free to turn his attention to

(42) Why Cecil failed to send a force to hold this bridge directly he had taken Puntal Castle is inexplicable. Even Essex seems to have forgotten how his father, in '96, despatched three regiments to hold it. Naval Tracts.

(43) Dalton.

an attack upon the town, the place was garrisoned by some four or five thousand infantry and cavalry. In addition to this, supplies had been hurriedly brought from the mainland by barks, which succeeded in running the gauntlet of the English fleet, and all hopes of surprising the town were at an end. Only by a regular siege could Cadiz now be taken, and Cecil's own words showed the utter impossibility of such an enterprise.

"The town I found very strongly fortified with a garrison of about 5,000 men, besides the forces and supplies of things necessary which they might receive by the Galleys, who, taking their times creeping along the shores, especially in calms, would have enjoyed that advantage of us, notwithstanding all our industry to hinder them by reason of rowing and shallow swimming, so that we saw the town was not to be gained without a long siege, and a siege of force which we were not provided for, the rather because our present landsmen (besides their too small number) in all their actions have showed themselves so wonderfully unreasonable and insufficient, that His Majesty's officers for that press deserve little but punishment, for no Prince or State was ever more abused in this kind."[44]

While Cadiz was thus putting itself in a strong position for resisting the expected English attacks, Cecil received information that an enemy had been seen in force at Zuazo Bridge. He therefore determined to march thither, and immediately gave orders for the troops to make ready. Denbigh was sent to command the fleet in his absence, with instructions to land victuals for provisioning the army on shore, to safeguard the ships afloat, and to take measures for capturing the enemy's vessels in Port Royal creek. Cecil then began his march inland with

(44) Cecil's account of Expedition to Buckingham, Novr. 3. S. P. D., Charles I.

a total force of about 8,000 men, and made for a spot called Hercules' Pillars, at a point where the island of Leon is at its narrowest. Here the army halted for a short time, thus enabling Glanville, who had been appointed Secretary to the fleet, to come up with them, bringing a message from Denbigh. The latter had called a council to discuss the measures to be taken for attacking the Spanish ships at Port Royal, and for victualling, and providing with shot and powder, the land forces.

Valuable time was again lost owing to a keen desire for shirking responsibility and for taking no risks. Valentia[45] was Master of the Ordnance, but as he had received no orders from Cecil respecting the landing of munition, nothing further was done to provide the army with this most essential requisite.[46] Boats, too, were wanting for conveying victuals and other necessaries for Fort Puntal and the force at Hercules' Pillars.

Glanville, who brought to Cecil the report of the council held by Denbigh, in order to receive the Lord Marshal's assent to its decision, had the utmost difficulty in once more regaining the fleet. "It was hard night ere I could get aboard the Admiral," he writes, and on his arrival he finds Denbigh departed "to his own ship before St. Mary Port, three or four miles away," and so cannot either go or send to him that night. Great confusion, too, appeared with respect to the delivery of provisions. Puntal had received no orders regarding victuals, and so refused to accept these vital necessities without instructions from Cecil. Many valuable hours were thus thrown away, and the boats, being occupied much longer than was antici-

(45) Sir Henry Power, of Bersham, in Denbighshire. Created Viscount Valentia in 1620. Dalton's 'Life of Cecil.'

(46) Glanville's Journal.

pated, were unable to lend their services to the ships preparing to make for Port Royal.

While everything afloat was thus in a state of disorder, Cecil was leading his troops towards the bridge of Zuazo. A small ambush of the enemy, which caused the loss of several men, convinced him of the necessity of sending two regiments under Sir John Burgh and Sir Henry Bruce "to take up residence before Cadiz but not near town," and so to free the army from ambuscades.[47] The soldiers then continued their march without finding any signs of an enemy. When they had reached a spot about a league from the bridge, where a few deserted houses appeared among the marshy plains and salt lagoons, the army halted for the night. Then arose on all sides loud and bitter complaints. No victuals were to be found among the landsmen, and hunger and thirst were now beginning to tell upon them after their march under a hot sun, and through a marshy district impregnated with an atmosphere which brought on a violent thirst. In an unlucky moment a quantity of wine was discovered in one of the deserted houses hard by, and immediately all discipline and order were thrown to the winds. The men fell greedily upon the casks, no heed was paid to the commands of their officers, and in a short time the whole force was in a state "of such beastliness, they knew not what they said, or did, so that all the chiefs were in hazard to have their throats cut."[48] Such disgraceful proceedings were almost unprecedented. Even Cecil himself and his principal officers were scarcely safe from the drunken fury and excesses of the soldiers.

"I must confess," writes the Lord Marshal, in his letter to Buckingham, "it put me to some trouble and

(47) Ibidem.

(48) Journal of someone in the fleet whose ship arrived on Decr. 14. S. P. D. Charles I.

care, having to do with the command of the multitude in such a case, that even when they are sober they are incapable of order."[49]

On the following day Cecil, with the utmost reluctance, retraced his steps, and regained the spot where he had placed the two regiments under Colonels Burgh and Bruce. He then continued his march to the shore, and at 2 o'clock of the afternoon was once more on board his flagship.

Another disappointment awaited him on his arrival, which added still further to his vexation. The enemy's ships in Port Royal creek, which had been all along considered easy of capture, and were, it was said, enclosed in a net, were now beyond the reach of their foes. While Cecil was still on the march to Zuazo Bridge, the Council on board the flagship had decided upon attacking the ships up the creek. Sir Samuel Argall received the command of a joint English and Dutch squadron for this purpose. Under the guidance of a Dutch youth, who had escaped from the Spanish vessels, and had with wonderful pluck and endurance swum to the Dutch squadron off Puntal Castle, Sir Samuel made for the entrance of the narrow roadstead. But he arrived too late. A number of vessels had been sunk at the mouth of the channel, and Argall was reluctantly obliged to give up the attempt. The risk of exposing the ships, which could only enter singly by a narrow opening between the sunken vessels, was too great, for the "bulwarks of the nation" had to be preserved at any cost whatsoever.

No wonder that Cecil now gave way to depression. His only hope was to leave this scene of woeful mortification without loss of honour. A council was accordingly held, and a decision was finally arrived at, that "there was no

(49) S. P. D. Charles I.

dishonour as no battery had been raised against the town," and that as Cadiz was considered too strong for assault, the fleet should immediately prepare to carry out the chief object of the expedition "enjoined by His Majesty,"—the interception of the Plate fleet.[50] It was a bitter pill to swallow, but the impossibility of besieging Cadiz was only too apparent to all concerned, and it was unanimously agreed that the soldiers should be embarked once more, and the prows of the vessels turned towards the open Atlantic.

Measures were now taken for putting the army on board. Luckily for the success of these operations, a number of shallops had been found beyond Hercules' Pillar when the army was marching towards the Bridge of Zuazo. This discovery proved most beneficial, for nearly all the longboats of the fleet had been lost in the violent storms of the 12th and 13th of October. Cecil ordered Sir Thomas Love to arrange for these boats to be brought into requisition, and he himself marched with a large force to prevent any sally by the Spaniards from hindering the passage of the shallops. His precautionary measures were amply justified, for the enemy's cavalry were hastening in great force upon the scene, and were only checked by an ambush of 300 men which Cecil had placed in some scattered houses in the vicinity.

That night the troops lay near Puntal, on the side over against Cadiz. The weather, which all this time had been threatening to be stormy, now changed to incessant rains, and the soldiers, badly clothed and suffering from long exposure and three days' continuous marching, "with little or no respect offered unto them for their refreshing," were in a state of utter prostration. Cecil himself tried to raise their dejected spirits by his personal attentions,

(50) Glanville's Journal

and was continually making the rounds of the camp, cheering and comforting the men.

The next day, October 27, another council was held, and the Lord Marshal's desire to hold the fort was overruled by a large majority. Argall was still at Port Royal, whither Sir Thomas Love and Sir Michael Geere[51] had also repaired, and instructions were now sent to bid them desist from attempting the destruction of the enemy's vessels there if the attack should be deemed useless, and to return with all speed.

The task of re-embarking the army now began, and the duty of covering the troops was entrusted to the regiment of Lord Valentia and Colonel Harwood. A large force of Spaniards[52] hovered round the English, harassing and hindering the operations, but the gallant exertions of Harwood's troops proved equal to the emergency, though they were at times sorely pressed, and driven even up to the walls of Puntal.[53] The fleet, however, opened fire on the enemy, and drove them off with severe loss. The embarkation then continued without further interruption, and under the personal supervision of Cecil, who was untiring in his assiduous care and attention for both men and horses, the whole army got on board without mishap. Fort Puntal was the last position to be evacuated, but Friday morning, the 28th, saw the remainder of the invading forces put aboard once more under the direction of the gallant Burgh, whose fearless spirit remained undaunted even to the end. Just as he was the

(51) They had been sent at Argall's request, to view the entrance of the creek, and to give an unbiassed judgment as to the possibility of making the attempt upon the Spanish ships there.

(52) Dalton says about 1,600 in number. 'Life and Times of Cecil.'

(53) Ibidem.

first to land on Spanish soil, so he was now the last to leave the fatal shore,[54] and his heart swelling with righteous indignation, the hardy warrior, who was destined to meet a glorious death in the fatal trenches of Ré, sadly and sorrowfully went on board, devoutly hoping that he would never see Buckingham again face to face.[55]

On October 29, the English fleet set sail with a fair wind to search for the Plate fleet. Orders were issued to cruise between Cadiz Bay and the Southern Cape, about sixty leagues from land. It was Cecil's last hope, and to it he clung with dogged persistency. Could he but have taken home some rich prizes to fill the coffers of Charles and his courtiers, and to pay the arrears of the half-starved officials at the sea ports and elsewhere, who were continually clamouring for the payments due to them,[56] the ill-success of this expedition would have been less harshly judged.

When the fleet reached the open sea eight ships were discovered making "for the Bar of St. Lucar," but they were chased in vain. The English ships were too "foul, and consequently ill sailers," and their prey easily escaped them. That same day a council was held, and questions of great importance were debated. The provisions on board were fairly plentiful, but the stores of water were limited. Too much time, however, would have been expended in taking this on board, for St. Mary Port contained but two wells,[57] but as there was a fair quantity of

(54) Glanville's Journal.

(55) Dalton's 'Life of Cecil.' He not only saw the Duke once more, but lived to quarrel with him during the Siege of St. Martin's fort, in Ré.

(56) Petitions for arrears of pay were constantly being presented during the early years of Charles I's. reign. In November, 1625, 50 soldiers of Pendennis had received no pay for 2 years. S. P. D. Charles I.

(57) Glanville's Journal.

beer in the fleet, it was decided to make for "Bayon," if absolute necessity required it, especially as that port brought the fleet so much nearer England. At the same council the question of sending home the sick and wounded was raised, and these, with the horses that remained to the army, were ordered to be despatched to England.[58] Unfortunately, owing to the confusion which still reigned in the fleet, many of the wounded got left behind, which is not greatly to be wondered at when questions of such trivial importance as precedency[59] occupied the minds of Cecil and his Council.

On the 30th four ships were discovered to windward and chased, but without success.[60] The English ships were little capable of coming up with an enemy's vessels, owing to their heavy sailing. In order to increase the speed of the fleet and leave it more at liberty for giving

(58) In the *Swiftsure* and the *St. Andrew* were no less than 60 sick out of 200 on board; in the *Bonaventure* and the *Convertive* 50 out of 180; and in the *Rainbow* 60 out of 250. How strange then to find no sick in the *Constant Reformation*, whose Captain was Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew to Sir Walter Raleigh! Glanville's Journal.

(59) The expeditions of these times were often the scenes of much animosity and jealousy amongst the leaders. In that of 1596, and again in this one, quarrels arose as to ability or precedency of the chiefs. On this occasion a dispute broke out between Lords Cromwell and Delaware. A quarrel, too, arose between Sir J. Prode and Capt. Squibb, but of this the Council took little heed. Glanville's Journal.

(60) Ibidem. These are probably the same ships as those mentioned by Sir Michael Geere, Captain of the St. George, in a letter to his son. In this he calls them part of the West India fleet, and says they reached "Cales or St. Lucar very peaceably." S. P. D. Charles I., end of Decr. It is worthy of note that although the English ships were now foul and heavy, yet, apart from this, they were invariably less speedy than foreign ships. Complaints were continually being made by the English captains of the slow sailing of their vessels.

chase, it was determined to sink all the "catches." The Council also decided that the quest for the Plate fleet should not be continued beyond the 20th of November, and after that date the fleet should make for England, each ship at liberty to take its own course. Cecil would gladly have extended the time, hoping still that a second fleet would arrive from England,[61] but "our ships being so leaky and foul, our men continually so decaying, and we having no rendezvous but the ocean,"[62] there was nothing further to be done but to turn the prows northward and make for England. The ships were getting unserviceable, the captains becoming negligent in duties or in obeying orders, and sickness was making fearful ravages amongst the crews.[63]

The homeward journey now commenced, and under none too favourable auspices. Contrary winds were encountered almost the whole way. On the 9th of November, Essex's squadron and the Dutch vessels got separated from the rest of the fleet, and only came up with them again on the 17th, after meeting the *Rainbow* and 22 other ships which had left the main fleet on the 11th.[64] Between the 19th and 23rd of November strong gales again dispersed the fleet, and on the latter date only 20 to 30 ships were in view. It seemed as if fate scarcely meant the expedition to see once more the friendly shores of England. Yet the need of a strong naval force in home waters was never more imperative

(61) Cecil, in his letters to Buckingham and Coke, plainly shows that he had good hopes of seeing a second fleet arrive from England to replace his own foul and heavy vessels. S. P. D. Charles I.

(62) Cecil to Buckingham. Ibidem.

(63) Delaware's ship, the *St. George*, had not even sufficient men to work her, and was forced to take two men from each vessel of the fleet. Glanville's Journal.

(64) Swiftsure Journal.

than during the troublous times of the early years of Charles I's. reign.[65]

On December 5, Essex arrived at Falmouth with his vessel in a most distressful condition. Out of her crew of 250 men, scarcely 40 proved serviceable, and it was impossible for her to leave the western port without receiving many extra hands. On the 11th the Admiral's ship entered Kinsale, "not having seamen enough in health for the fitting of our ships to come to an anchor, without assistance of the gentlemen volunteers and their servants, who all wrought with their own hands for the better accommodating of the business." There was six feet of water in the hold, and had she kept a day or two longer at sea, "we must need have perished."[66]

Cecil stayed at Kinsale while the *Anne Royal* was receiving the necessary repairs. About 20 other ships, including the *Rainbow*, *Bonaventure*, and *Dreadnought*, had also run into the Irish ports for shelter.[67] St. Leger, with 17 sail, reached Plymouth on the 18th of December, and by the 23rd thirty-three ships had arrived at the western port, including the *Convertive*. Nine others reached Dartmouth, with the *Dreadnought* and *Bonaventure*. At St. Ives were two, and at Falmouth the *Swiftsure* had just entered the harbour with its freight of sick and wounded. Each day brought to the English shores a number of stragglers, and each day accentuated the miseries and distress of the crews, who

(65) At this very time the French Admiral, Manty, was insulting England by menacing the ships under Soubise in the English ports. News from Dunkirk was bad, and fears of invasion were constantly before the eyes of the English Council. Richelieu, too, was watching with lynx-like glance the progress of the returning fleet.

(66) Glanville's Journal.

(67) Sir T. Love to Buckingham. S. P. D.

were "dumped" down at the ports without any provision being made for their maintenance.

St. Leger, writing to Conway, gave a terrible account of these poor wretches. "The state they now stand in," he said, "is most miserable. They stink as they go, the poor rags they have are rotten, and ready to fall if they be touched. The soldiers are sick and naked, and the officers moneyless and friendless, not able to feed themselves a week."[68]

Yet what cared Charles and Buckingham for the sufferings of the wretched thousands! Even now the King and his favourite were concerting measures for sending out another expedition. Even now they were taking means for coercing the next Parliament into carrying out their wishes. But the cry was always "money, money," and none was forthcoming. "Until monies are made in London," wrote Coke to Conway on December 14, "there is no possibility either of paying the fleet or setting forth the fleets prepared to attend Captain Pennington to Plymouth."[69]

But with Stuart perversity Charles refused to come to any agreement with Parliament, and the sufferings of the sailors continued to increase to an alarming extent day by day. The seed was now sown, the fruit from which was to be gathered in the strife between monarch and people. The Earl of Essex returned home, disgusted with the King and the Court party, and no doubt fostering those feelings which ultimately led him to embrace the Parliamentarian side during the Civil War.[70] The other leaders in this disastrous expedition were all filled with wrath, or abjectly disconsolate over the ill-success of

(68) Dec. 29, 1625. S. P. D. Charles I.
(69) S. P. D. Charles I.
(70) Dalton: 'Life and Times of Cecil.'

the fleet. Valentia vowed that he would never serve under Cecil again unless a special command constrained him to do it,[71] and Sir W. St. Leger "declared his heart was broken."[72]

But if a righteous indignation was expressed against Cecil's incompetence and want of maritime knowledge, he was certainly not to be held responsible for the whole failure of the undertaking. St. Leger was right when he accused those, too, of being blameworthy who were waiting "to fly upon the Marshal."[73] Every letter written upon the subject is unanimous in condemning the organization of the expedition. The indiscipline of the men, the foul state of the ships, the want of pinnaces, the difficulties concerning victuals and water, the necessity of having in supreme command over the fleet a leader whose hands were not tied down by a Council—all this Cecil had already anticipated.

"All these difficulties," he says in a letter to Conway, "I imagined we should suffer before my parting with my Lord Duke, yet because his Excellency was pleased to command me for the service, I resolved to undertake anything rather than show any discouragement.[74]

No wonder that Buckingham refused to put himself at the head of such an expedition! He knew full well that it was doomed to failure, if only by the warnings he received from competent maritime officers.[75] But he shirked the responsibility, and preferred to send a brave and tried soldier to his ruin, in an element to which he was a total stranger. The profligate courtier, the

(71) Valentia to Conway. S. P. Ireland, Jan. 12, 1626. Charles I.

(72) Dalton's 'Life and Times of Cecil.'

(73) St. Leger to Buckingham. Dec. 18, 1625. S. P. D.

(74) S. P. D. 1625, Nov. 9. Charles I.

(75) Monson had already written to warn Buckingham of the certain failure of the expedition.

presumptuous favourite, had thus escaped the stigma which failure had stamped upon the features of so many gallant soldiers more competent and more worthy than himself, but it was not for long that he would avoid the threatening storm, which from an exasperated nation was gathering slowly but surely to engulf him in its deadly embrace. Ré and La Rochelle were to follow close upon Cadiz, and but for Felton's fatal intervention, England would assuredly have seen another royal favourite receive his just reward at the hands of an incensed people.

Photo:] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

LA ROCHELLE, THE ISLE OF RÉ, AND THE ADJOINING COASTS.

(From a contemporary French print).

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXPEDITION TO RÉ.

1627.

The disastrous results of the expedition to Cadiz had left England for the time being almost denuded of serviceable vessels. During the early part of 1626, Cecil's (Wimbledon's) fleet had all straggled back to English ports, but for practical purposes it was almost non-existent, so many were the defects found in the vessels. In addition to this, "sickness had been so fatal amongst the sailors,"[1] that there were "scarcely men left to trim the sails." Notwithstanding the urgent necessity for repairs, and the repose required for the wretched mariners who were in a most distressful condition, political affairs demanded the raising of another fleet to cope with the dangers which on all sides were menacing England.

On January 6, 1626, orders were given to raise a fleet of thirty sail, which number was increased to forty on February 4.[2] But difficulties beset the paths of the Navy officials whichever way they turned. Money, as usual, was not forthcoming, mutinies and riots broke out at the seaport towns where the returned sailors were quartered,[3]

(1) S. P. D., Jan. 3, 1626.

(2) S. P. D., Feb. 4, 1626.

(3) The state of the sailors, owing to arrears of pay not being satisfied, was grievous in the extreme. On April 11, Pennington writes to Buckingham that it would grieve any man's heart to hear their lamentations and to see their wants and nakedness (referring to sailors at Plymouth). On June 25, about 500 men left the fleet; their wives and children were perishing; want was making them starve. And this state of things continued throughout the year 1626. S. P. D. Charles I.

the merchants were unwilling to again adventure their ships in the service of the state, and the loan ships had not yet returned to England.[4] The hostility of Spain continued with unabating severity,[5] and already France, under the directing hand of Richelieu, was threatening secret war against England, whose action over the loan ships, coupled with the privateering of English vessels off the French coasts and English sympathy with the Rochellers, had exasperated her beyond measure.

During the year 1626 England was kept in constant dread and apprehension, by reason of the great preparations going on in Spain for setting forth an armada. On April 5, Captain Pennington wrote to Buckingham about the large number of "boats being built for the landing of men," and adding that "all speech" concerning these mighty preparations was agreed in supposing England or Ireland to be the country aimed at. The Council were fully alive to the gravity of the situation, and Charles gave direction that measures should be taken for warding off the danger and for guarding the coasts from external attacks.

"This year the King of Spain's preparations are in an unusual proportion," he wrote to Buckingham, "and not being forced to divide his shipping for the convoy of his treasure, he cannot easily be diverted from assailing us, as well from Portugal, as Flanders." The forty ships

(4) These arrived at Portsmouth on May 1, 1626. S. P. D. Charles I.

(5) Spanish attacks on English coasts and vessels during 1626 had caused enormous losses. On March 11, the Bailiff of Yarmouth speaks of 24 ships being taken by Dunkirkers, one being captured in full view of townsmen of Southwold. Each succeeding month brought forward complaints of their raids from various parts of the coasts, and so neglected were our own mariners that many of them were to be found upon these very Dunkirk vessels. See March 24, 1626. S. P. D. Charles I.

ordered to be put in commission in February were found insufficient, and Buckingham was requested "to make ready with all speed a fleet of twenty King's ships and 100 merchantment of from 300 tons and upwards."[6]

But the stupendous difficulties which this task imposed upon the Navy officials owing to the want of money, made the work of raising the fleet almost an impossibility. Yet Buckingham, who in January had proposed that the monthly pay of the sailors should be raised from 14 to 20 shillings, succeeded, in September, in persuading the Council to adopt this measure.[7] It was doubtless an excellent sop to place before the mutinous and discontented mariners, but it only further increased the arrears due to them, and in no way succeeded in appeasing their justifiable clamours and outbreaks. Instructions were issued to many of the port towns to furnish ships, but these were only supplied after much protest, London itself demurring strongly against the Council order to provide several ships for guarding the Thames.[8]

Nevertheless, the losses inflicted by Spanish vessels were becoming so intolerable, and the rumours of a possible break with France were so fast developing into the certainty of impending conflict, that all official complaints were for the moment silenced. With the ring of Spanish shipbuilding in their ears, and the knowledge that Richelieu had determined upon the expansion of France by sea,[9] the Navy officers set to work with the utmost

(6) S. P. D., April, 1626.

(7) S. P. D., Sept. 4, 1626.

(8) It had protested that the guarding of the Thames was "a regal work," and so was a service that concerned the whole kingdom rather than the capital alone. Ibidem, Feb. 13, 1626.

(9) The French marine was in a most deplorable condition, but after the English and Dutch loan vessels had returned from France, there was brought home to Louis the necessity of building

diligence to prepare as many King's ships as possible. But although much was done during those anxious months of 1626 to accelerate the repairs of the defective vessels, and the press gangs were at work hunting up men for manning the fleet, and filling up the gaps which disease and pestilence had made among the soldiers, the close of the summer found the fleet still inadequately provided for. In August, 1626, Captain Gyffard wrote that " all things are so out of order that he cannot see any possibility for the whole fleet to go to sea for a long time," adding that at least 1,000 men were required, so that each vessel might have its necessary complement of mariners.[10] In the meantime small squadrons of ships were sent under various officers to scour the seas for pirates and Dunkirkers,[11] and to keep the Government informed upon French and Spanish intentions.

But in December matters were brought to a crisis. Though nominally at peace, England and France had each been constantly staying the vessels of the other nation on various alleged pretexts, and the irritation thus engendered had begun to extend to bitter recriminations and reprisals. Richelieu had long intended the destruction of the French Protestants as a political factor, but he knew full well that English sympathies were directed towards the people of La Rochelle. His plans for building a fleet were considered a menace to England's maritime supremacy, and further annoyance was given to Charles and his Council by his attempt to cajole the Dutch into putting

a fleet, and on Dec. 2, he declared that in future France must have a permanent fleet of 45 ships on the ocean. Gravière's 'Siège de la Rochelle,' p. 158.

(10) S. P. D. Charles I. August 3 and 7, 1626.

(11) These were, at diverse times, under Lord Denbigh, Lord Lindsey, Captains Pennington, Mennes, and Sir Henry Mervyn. S. P. D.

themselves under the protection of France.[12] Richelieu was only waiting for the completion of the ships which were being constructed in Holland for the French state, and for their safe arrival in a French port, before breaking out into open hostilities against England. Charles obtained information of this, and issued instructions to his captains to stay all French vessels, though no declaration of war had yet been made.[13] A special commission was also appointed to inquire into Navy abuses, and the work of preparing the great naval force was pushed on with feverish haste.

It was indeed time for action. A secret understanding between France and Spain, aimed at England, had been in process of maturing for some time,[14] and French machinations in Holland had aroused the strongest suspicions among Charles' ministers. In January, 1627, a general survey of the King's navy was ordered. Small squadrons of ships were also sent to cruise off the French coasts, and on the 18th of that month further instructions were issued to apprehend all French vessels.[15] In March, the treaty between France and Spain was signed,[16] and Richelieu saw the projects of his ambitious

(12) See S. P. D., Coke to Conway, March 4, 1627.

(13) S. P. D., Charles I. December 3, and 6, 1626. Pennington had even received secret instructions to go to Havre and pick a quarrel with the French there, so as to have an excuse for destroying the French ships just arrived from the Low Countries. Ibidem, Dec. 24, 1626. See Chapter V, p. 129.

(14) On December 24, 1626, Buckingham, writing to Pennington, mentions a fleet of 30 or 40 pataches coming from Spain, carrying troops to Dunkirk, which was to be "friendly received" in French ports by command of the French King. S. P. D. Charles I. See also Note 76, p. 129.

(15) Ibidem. Jan. 18, 1627.

(16) Gravière says in April.

spirit gradually drawing nearer to realization.[17] That same month, as if to hurl defiance at the French preparations, estimates were drawn up for fifteen King's ships and 100 merchantmen for a period of six months, and warrants were issued to this effect.

But although the diligence of the Navy officers, together with their zeal in overcoming the great obstacles which they encountered on every side, succeeded in deceiving Richelieu as to the preparedness of the fleet,[18] the want of money still proved the stumbling block. Not even the numerous captures made by Pennington and other naval captains, could replenish Charles' coffers enough to materially help on the victualling of the fleet.

In May, all commercial relations between the two countries were broken off. Information received from Normandy spoke of great preparations being made for raising men and setting out ships,[19] and finally on May 14, Buckingham received his commission "as Admiral, Captain General, and Governor of the King's Royal fleet intended to be set out to sea for recovery of the rightful patrimony of the Prince Elector, and my brother-in-law."[20] In order to encourage still further the officials at Portsmouth, who with the utmost zeal were urging on the work of fitting out the great fleet, Charles himself de-

(17) But Richelieu himself was slightly deceived, as he only thought that a small squadron of vessels was making ready in England, and that there was no question of a great armament at all. See his letter to Guyon, Governor of Moran. State Letters.

(18) The French Minister thought that the English fleet was to sail on April 10/20. See his letter to Guyon, in the State Letters. Bib. Nat. Paris.

(19) News of 5,000 men at Granville, and 7,000 at Newhaven (Havre de Grace) supposed to be for attacking the Channel Isles. S. P. D., May 26, 1627.

(20) S. P. D., May 14, 1627.

parted for the southern port, to make a thorough inspection before the expedition finally set sail.

"On June 11," writes Robert Mason to Nicholas, "the King came to view the Navy. Being brought round about the bulwarks, he saw what was amiss, and promised, to the great content of the inhabitants, to repair the ruinous fortifications of his only garrison town in England. He went aboard the *Victory*, in the haven, having in his barge Monsieur Soubise, the Earl of Rutland, the Lords Steward and Chamberlain, Lords Carlisle and Denbigh From thence he went to Stokes Bay, where he boarded the *Rainbow*, and from her went aboard the *Triumph* between 10 and 11, where he dined and stayed until 2 o'clock. On board, he discovered 19 sail which he assures himself to be Captain Pennington with the remainder of the fleet. He asked for a list of the ships. At dinner his whole discourse was about them, and in particular about the *Triumph*, inquiring of Sir John Watts, in his own words, 'whether she cuid yar or no?' He sent a health by Sir John Watts[21] to Monsieur Soubise and the Lords to the good success of the voyage, at which there were five guns discharged. Dinner passed away with as much mirth as Sir Robert Deall, the Fool Archie, and the Duke's musicians could make. After dinner he went on board the *Warspite*, the *Repulse*, and the *Vanguard*, and thence ashore, where his coach carried him to Broom Down,[22] to view the troop of horse."[23]

Charles remained at Portsmouth for some days, passing his time "for the most part in taking view of the troops of horse, or some one of the Regiments every day," and

(21) Son of a former Lord Mayor of London. Knighted by Charles I.

(22) Browndown, a district between Gosport and Lee-on-the-Solent, Hampshire.

(23) S. P. D., June 11, 1627.

it gave him "great contentment to find them so extraordinarily ready at their arms and in so good condition."[24] During the following week the victualling of the large force on board was hurriedly proceeded with, the last of the 7,000 landsmen, whom the King found so ready with their arms and in such good condition, were embarked, and while Richelieu was still uncertain as to the destination of this imposing fleet,[25] the King and his councillors wished God-speed to the expedition, which was destined to be one of the most lamentable and disastrous in the annals of English history.

The fleet, under the supreme command of Buckingham, left Stokes Bay on Wednesday, the 27th of June. It consisted of 84 ships divided into four squadrons, and carried upwards of 10,000 men.[26] Buckingham was in the *Triumph* of 900 tons, and had as his Vice-Admiral the Earl of Lindsey in the *Rainbow*. Lord Harvey, the Rear-Admiral, was in the *Repulse*, while the Earl of Denbigh, in the *Victory*, commanded the fourth squadron.[27]

On the 29th the fleet had passed Ushant, and three days

(24) Ibidem. June 18, 1627.

(25) Writing on June 22/July 2, to Toiras, Governor of Ré, Richelieu says, "I cannot believe that the English will come either to Ré, or to Oléron." Bib. Nat. Paris . Richelieu's State Letters.

(26) Gravière and many other French writers, probably quoting 'The Mercury of France,' put the number at 90 vessels including 8 of 900 to 1,000 tons. But no ships, save the *Triumph* and *Victory*, were over 800 tons. The same authorities mention 3,000 French refugees being on board, which is obviously inaccurate. B. N. Dupuy, says 97 vessels. La Roncière 'L' Histore de la Marine française' gives, 15 ships, 50 transports, 4 French prizes, and 10 Dutch vessels, and Lavisse 'Histoire de France' says "quelques cents navires, portant 3000 hommes et 100 chevaux.' Vol. VI, p. 264.

(27) Clowes' 'History of the British Navy,' says that Lindsey was on the *Repulse* and Harvey on the *Victory*.

Photo :] *[Donald Macbeth, London.*

THE ISLE OF RÉ. (From a contemporary English manuscript).

afterwards Buckingham, with 60 ships, pursued four Dunkirkers which hovered in sight, but all to no purpose, for the speedy enemy proved more than a match for the slow English vessels. After a futile chase of 24 hours the pursuit ceased, and the voyage was continued southwards. Foul weather was encountered almost the whole way, and it was only after a slow and difficult course that the fleet came within sight of La Rochelle on the 10th of July. As the ships approached the island of Ré,[28] twenty vessels led the way, directing their route towards the Sables d'Olonne. The remainder of the ships joined the advanced squadron on the 11th and 12th, and after firing a few shot at Fort Prée, the whole united fleet, with the exception of twelve vessels left to guard the entrance to the Breton Channel,[29] anchored off the northern side of Point Sablanceau, a promontory some 1,200 yards in length, and 200 to 300 in width, lying on that side of Ré facing the town of La Rochelle.[30]

The island of Ré, seventeen miles in length, and varying from three to four in width, is bounded by the Breton and Antioch Channels on its northern and southern sides. The former strait is about six miles wide at its narrowest part; the latter separates Ré from the island of Oleron. The town and fort of St. Martin lie to the north of Ré, opposite the coast of Poitou. Towards the west, some two miles away, was the island of Loix.[31] To the east of

(28) Lavisse : History of France. Also S. P. D., Charles I, Bagg to Coke ; and Journal of Expedition to Ré.

(29) Histoire de la Rebellion des Rochellois 'Le vray Journal de tout ce qui s'est passé dans l'Isle de Ré depuis la Descente des Anglais jusques à leur rembarquement.'

(30) Sir James Bagg to Coke and Conway, July 17, 1627, S. P. D.

(31) At low water Loix was no longer an island. Gravière.

St. Martin's lay the little fort of La Prée, and further away, six or seven miles from the citadel, stood the bold and rocky promontory of Sablanceau. The southern side of the island, especially that part facing the open sea, was inaccessible owing to the rocks and sand banks from which it got the name of the *côte sauvage*.[32] The northern, on the other hand, possessed several excellent anchorages, which could prove of the utmost utility to an invading force.

Buckingham, knowing that the coast near Sablanceau was suitable for disembarking the land forces, divided his fleet into two squadrons. The first extended from the Isle of Loix (or Loie) to La Flotte, the remaining squadron lying over against La Prée and Cape Sablanceau, with the extreme ships facing the mainland towards La Rochelle. A few ships were sent to the southern side of the island, to guard the entrance to the Antioch Channel, but owing to bad anchorage and constant storms they were continually forced to leave those waters in order to seek safety elsewhere.[33]

Jean de Saint Bonnet de Toiras,[34] Governor of the island of Ré for Louis XIII., had at his disposal a force of about 2,000 men, both horse and foot. Out of these, five companies of guards were placed in the citadel of St. Martin, another was sent to the Isle of Loix, and four more to Ars, a small village on the western side of the island. On the approach of the English fleet Toiras took

(32) Isnard 'Siège du Fort St. Martin et Fuite des Anglais de L'Isle de Ré.'

(33) Gravière.

(34) 1585—1636. A favourite of Louis XIII. on account of his skill in catching birds. Sent by Richelieu to Ré as Governor, he distinguished himself at the Siege of St. Martin's fort. He was afterwards Governor of Casale, but incurred the animosity of the Cardinal, and fell fighting at Fontanelle in the Milanese, in the Duke of Savoy's Service.

it for Dunkirkers,[35] but he was soon disillusioned on this point by the fire of the enemy's cannon, which caused many casualties among the French troops drawn up on the shore to resist the invaders. Thinking that the English intended landing four or five hundred men towards the Point of Sablanceau, in order to draw him away from their main objective, the fort of St. Martin, the Governor marched along the coast with a force of some 1,200 horse and foot, prepared to resist to the utmost any landing from the English vessels. In the meantime Buckingham, who had sent Sir William Becher to La Rochelle to confer with the Mayor, and who had also issued a manifesto stating clearly the reasons for the expedition, now determined to make a descent on the island. Drawing up his fleet as near the shore as the depth of water would allow, he gave orders to disembark 2,000 men. Toiras was totally ignorant of the English intentions. Nevertheless, he was on the alert, and with his force of horse and foot he awaited the landing of the foe, fully resolved to drive him back into the sea.

A calm sea facilitated the landing of the English troops, and under the protection of their guns, which inflicted great losses on the approaching French soldiers, the invading forces disembarked on the sandy shore and prepared to receive the attacks of the enemy. Toiras ordered five of his seven squadrons of cavalry to begin to fight, and instructed his infantry to advance with all speed, supported by the remainder of the cavalry, and complete the work begun by the main squadrons of horse-soldiers. The French cavalry rushed with great gallantry against the English lines, and so fierce and impetuous was their attack, that they succeeded in throwing the landing force into the utmost confusion, and even in driving many of the English into the sea. "For although our ships did

(35) H. R. R.

ply their ordnance most briskly, yet they (the French) marching in good order, gave our landsmen such a charge (had they been seconded home with their foot) that it had been doubtful who should have had the honour of that day, but that the omnipotent power that was a beholder and determiner of the quarrel gave it to our nation, albeit it did seem at first to be lost, who, flying from their commanders, ran most fearfully into the sea, and did so overcharge the boats that were laden with soldiers, that themselves and many others were drowned, amongst which was that noble knight, Sir William Heydon."[36] But the French cavalry were ill-supported by their infantry, and the English, rallying from their surprise, and urged on by their officers, began once more to assume the offensive. Forming up in good order, they forced the French cavalry to retreat, and then fell upon the enemy's foot, which had come up too late to press home the advantage gained by the horse. Toiras, seeing that further attempts were vain, left the field of battle to his victorious enemy, and retreated to the fort of St. Martin, unmolested by the English forces who made no pursuit, but were content to remain and entrench themselves on the ground so obstinately contested by the two gallant foes.[37]

The losses on both sides had been severe.[38] Four to five hundred soldiers had fallen on the English side, including

(36) Journal of Expedition to Isle of Ré.

(37) This was a fatal error. Had the English but pressed their advantage home, they would have captured the fort quite easily. What difference that would have made to the whole operations it is only too obvious to see.

(38) The authorities vary as to the exact losses. Most French writers give their own loss as 60 horse and 150 foot. One writer (R.S.) speaks of 80 nobles and 300 soldiers, and later on mentions the loss of 128 nobles and 400 to 500 soldiers, giving the English loss at about 500 or 600 all told. (S. F. S.) But although the fighting was severe, this number seems somewhat exaggerated.

many commanders of note, while of the French force, some seventy nobles and from two to three hundred men had been killed or wounded.

The next morning Toiras sent an officer to beg leave for bringing away the dead, a request which was granted with the utmost courtesy, and reciprocal amenities passed between the leaders of the two hostile armies.

Buckingham, instead of thrusting home the advantage thus gained and marching instantly to attack the forts of La Prée and St. Martin, now wasted three days in entrenching himself on the ground which had been so keenly disputed by the two opposing forces. Toiras, profiting by his adversary's inexperience, hastened to bring into St. Martin's fort as much victuals as he could hurriedly gather together, during which time he continually harassed the operations of the English with his troop of light horse. This inactivity on the part of Buckingham was only one out of the numerous blunders made during the progress of this campaign, and a golden opportunity was thus thrown away for simultaneously surprising the two forts, and taking possession of the whole island before measures could be concerted for holding any part of it against the invading army.[39] Without let or hindrance

Many men of note were slain on both sides, especially on that of the French, as their cavalry consisted of none but nobles, whose thirst for renown made them count their lives rather cheaply. Hence the heavy loss inflicted in their ranks. On the English side were slain Sir W. Heydon, Sir T. Thornehurst, Sir T. Yorke and 16 others, including Johnson, the engineer, whose loss was most bitterly felt. Among the French, the killed included Toiras' own brother, the Barons de Chantal, de Navailles, de Causes, de Sandes, Le Tablier, and de Bussac.

(39) Fort St. Martin, begun but 13 months before, was still in an unfinished state. Its entrance was wide enough to admit "30 men abreast," and it was very ill provided with provisions and

the garrison of Fort St. Martin scoured the whole island for victuals, and although time was too short to permit them to collect enough for a long siege, they succeeded in finding sufficient to serve their 200 voluntary auxiliaries for a period of two months, and this they took into the fort of St. Martin with all possible speed.[40]

Meanwhile Buckingham, after landing his whole force consisting of about 8,000 men, determined at length to march upon St. Martin's fort and drive the enemy from his last stronghold. It was indeed time to make a move. Provisions were none too plentiful in the English fleet, and if the fort should make a long resistance, the want of victuals among the assailants would immediately be felt.[41]

On the 16th of July the English began their march westwards. The men were disposed in eight battalions, with the cannon at the head of the force and the cavalry on the wings. Toiras hovered on their flanks, annoying the in-

other necessaries required for a prolonged siege. But of munition of war it had an ample supply. S. F. S. and D. D. C., p. 207.

(40) Toiras brought into the fort wine and meat for 200 men for two months, which he gathered from Bourg St. Martin, but time was so limited that he left behind him large quantities of food of various kinds, and the contents of an apothecary's shop which would have been of the utmost utility, besides animals, munition, powder, picks, shovels, etc. Even at the commencement of the siege the soldiers were on short rations. R. D. A.

(41) Charles himself was extremely solicitous about the despatch of victuals for the army. Several estimates had already been given, on July 5, and again on the 14th. The King, too, had insisted on the *Return* being sent back to Rochelle with provisions. (This vessel, under Capt. Gyffard, had missed the fleet, and owing to mutiny on board, or want of victuals, had returned. Charles was greatly annoyed at this, and thought the fault so bad as to merit the severest punishment for some of the crew). On the 17th, arrangements were being made to send out provisions for 4,500 men for 70 days. S. P. D., Charles I.

Photo:] *[Donald Macbeth, London.*

ST. MARTIN'S FORT IN THE ISLE OF RÉ. (From a contemporary print).

N.B. Several errors in the plan, e.g., East for West, and vice versa.

vaders with his light horse, but unable to draw them from their ranks, and without encountering any serious resistance, Buckingham entered the town of St. Martin, which the French immediately evacuated, knowing the utter impossibility of holding it with their slender forces.[42] The English on the two following days raised trenches against the citadel, and planted their cannon of 24 pieces within half a musket shot of the moat surrounding it.[43] The beseiged were completely blockaded on every side, and though they had plenty of munition and powder, their victuals were so limited that it was only a question of time to starve them to submission. No wonder Richelieu and the French government were roused to the seriousness of affairs at Ré! No wonder messengers were sent to all the seaport towns of France, to gather ships for transporting provisions to the island, in addition to the appeal made to Spain to fulfil her promise to lend vessels for service against England![44] All France was alarmed at the turn which affairs had taken, and everywhere appeared what Richelieu had determined to prove to his countrymen, the necessity of a strong marine. Ré would be lost, Rochelle relieved, and France given over once more to intestine troubles, if the English fleet were able to prevent supplies from being thrown into Ré. What better proof could be found of the enormous influence exercised by the navy that controlled the sea?

Whilst the invading force was thus shutting up St.

(42) R. D. A.

(43) P. M.

(44) France and Spain had made an agreement on March 20, by which the latter state promised to lend Richelieu a fleet to combine with France against England. The English were continually receiving information about this fleet, but the Spaniards had no desire to hasten on its despatch. It was no policy of theirs to weaken England and so strengthen France.

Martin's fort on every side, the Rochellers were in a state of anxious uncertainty. They had not yet declared for Charles, fearing that the English, if victorious, would retain possession of Ré. At the same time they wished to gather in their harvest, and so could scarcely afford to come to blows with the Duke of Angoulême [45] and his troops who were carefully watching them from Fort Louis.[46] Not to offend the English, they allowed about 500 men under the Sieur de Loudrière to leave the town and join Buckingham before St. Martin's. Encouraged by this reinforcement, and knowing that his own provisions were too limited to allow of a long blockade, Buckingham pressed on the siege with the utmost vigour. On July 22, he summoned the citadel to surrender, but a defiant answer was returned in the form of a cannon shot. Stung by this retort, the English kept up an incessant cannonade upon the fort, though without any apparent results. On the following day the fleet was ordered to approach nearer the citadel, and at the same time two more batteries of six and ten guns were raised. But the fire from the fort silenced the guns, and the fleet itself was compelled to retire out of range of the enemy's fire, so rapid and accurate was his aim.

(45) Charles de Valois, Duke of Angoulême, natural son of Charles IX. and Marie Touchet. Born 1573, died 1630. He was implicated in the conspiracies in Henry IV's. reign, and was imprisoned for life. Released under Louis XIII., he aided the latter monarch in his wars, of which he has left a history in his memoirs.

(46) On the western side of Rochelle near the harbour. By a treaty between Louis and the people of Rochelle, the demolition of this fort, now in course of construction, was agreed upon. The French Government, however, had no intention of destroying a place so useful for watching Rochelle. The Rochellers sent to Angoulême to ask permission to bring in the harvest. The latter granted their request, but only on condition that "they remained good Frenchmen, and not otherwise." P. M.

Nothing daunted by these reverses, the English pushed on the siege, and on the 24th they captured a well and a mill[47] situated some 600 paces from the fort, which sorely distressed the besieged. But want of victuals was now becoming very acute in the citadel, and it depended upon Richelieu and his success in the despatch of vessels for running the blockade, whether the fort would be forced to surrender to the English army.[48]

Although everything now seemed to favour the besiegers, their dilatory proceedings during the next few days raised once more the hopes of the gallant band under Toiras, and encouraged the besieged to repel the attacks of the enemy with renewed vigour. Buckingham throughout the blockade showed himself of tried courage, but the want of unity amongst his captains, and the jealousy which was ever breaking out among the army leaders greatly hindered the siege operations.[49] No succours, however, could reach the French. The fleet was well disposed to prevent supplies from being thrown into the fort, and although the Governor had sworn to die rather than surrender, famine now began to stare the gallant defenders in the face. On the 26th,

(47) Letter of Capt. R. Mason to Nicholas. S. P. D., July 26, 1627. These were guarded by a sergeant named Choiseul, and some 30 soldiers. (R. D. A. and P. M.)

(48) Richelieu was sending courier after courier to hasten on the Spanish fleet, in addition to messengers to the port towns for pinnaces and barges, and to Dunkirk with letters from the Spanish Ambassador. In all, more than 200 couriers were despatched within one single month. R. D. A.

(49) De Vic, in a letter to Conway, speaks in eulogistic terms of Buckingham's personal courage. "His care is infinite, his courage undauntable. He is partly constrained to exertion by the carelessness of some officers. The rest of the officers are brave, valiant gentlemen; had they not shown themselves to be so, it had gone hard with us at the landing." S. P. D., Charles I. July 27.

Toiras cruelly hamstrings his horses and drives them from the citadel.[50] He then sends out 30 men to fetch water from the well, but they are surprised by the English and captured. Buckingham orders the well to be carefully guarded, and the same day places three more batteries some 400 paces from the fort.[51]

To prevent still further the besieged from communicating with the outside, the English began a second line of trenches parallel with the first. Toiras, perceiving their intentions, despatched a messenger to Louis to demand succours, and to give a complete account of proceedings at St. Martin's.[52] But although the state of the fort was now becoming desperate, little progress was made by the English in the lines of circumvallation. The fire of the batteries raised against the citadel to reply to the guns of the enemy was continually neutralized by the deadly accuracy of the French guns,[53] and the ground was hard and difficult for the soldiers working at the trenches. Buckingham in the meantime withdrew his troops from Point Sablanceau, and sent them to lie midway between St. Martin's and La Prée,[54] to cut off all communications between these two forts, and

(50) R. S.

(51) P. M.

(52) This was the Sieur de Castelan. He caused much anxiety and inconvenience to Toiras by stating that the besieged had enough provisions for August and September. R. D. A. and S. F. S.

(53) See De Vic's letter to Conway, August 4, where he comments on this accurate shooting. They make "wondrous good shots," he says.

(54) In Becher's Journal mention is made of an order to have Fort Prée summoned. Later on the order was countermanded, which ultimately helped to bring about the English downfall, for the French reinforcements crossing the narrow channel from the mainland used the fort as their base of operations.

"to refresh the soldiers owing to the wretched weather." Mountjoy[55] with his light horse was continually patrolling the country for stragglers, and Buckingham now counted upon starving the garrison into surrender rather than upon taking the fort by assault. Several reasons actuated him to these measures. The hardness of the ground hindered the building of mines, the place was strong, "invincible if once perfected," the enemy's horse were picked men, the store of ordnance in the citadel was ample for the needs of the besieged, and the Governor, who was on no friendly terms with Richelieu or the Queen-Mother,[56] would rather die than surrender. "Yet the siege," said the Duke in his letter to Conway dated July 28, "shall be maintained by us with courage and resolution, and I am confident His Majesty will not let us want."[57]

But the country was destitute of provisions, ammunition was especially wanted, and Buckingham writes to Charles in hot haste for a supply of shovels, picks, mortars and "fireworks," which had been left behind, and more particularly for the "Dutchman that was expected for the direction of them," in addition to engineers who would be "not unwelcome." Rochelle, too, had not declared itself for the English, and in spite of Buckingham's manifesto, asserting that Charles' sole reason for invading Ré was "to succour the Protestants," the presence of the Duke of Angoulême near the city's walls still cowed the Rochellers into re-

(55) Afterwards Earl of Newport.

(56) Marie de Médecis (1573-1642) married Henry IV. of France in 1600. In 1631, she was exiled owing to her intrigues and plots. Her daughter, Henrietta Maria, married Charles I in 1625.

(57) July 28, 1627. S.P.D. Yet on July 28/Aug. 7, R. D. A. and S. F. S., state that Buckingham wrote to Charles to say that the fort would be theirs in 8 days.

maining neutral,[58] But Louis' determination to continue the work at Fort Louis and to build another fort towards Point Coreille on the south side of Rochelle, coupled with the unwillingness of Angoulême to permit the entry of provisions into the city, made the Rochellers hesitate no longer. They sent to Buckingham to request from him the 500 soldiers, whom they had lent to the English under the Sieur de Loudrière "to encourage them in their task,"[59] and the Duke, rejoicing that such a turn had been given to affairs, instantly complied with their desire.

Meanwhile the work at the trenches was being slowly but surely pushed on, and by August 4 they had reached within half a musket-shot of the citadel itself. Toiras was too weak to offer any resistance to the besiegers in their projects of drawing closer the lines of circumvallation, and Buckingham was soon enabled to bring the trenches down to the coast, and within a short distance of the half-moons erected by the besieged for keeping open their communications with the sea. It was a critical moment for the Governor and his gallant band within the citadel. So acutely desperate had the state of affairs become, that Toiras was at last goaded into making a sortie from the fort with some forty men mounted on his few remaining horses. But the attempt proved futile. The besiegers were on the alert, the brave handful of French were driven back into the citadel after losing several of their number, and the English instantly took measures for frustrating any similar undertakings in the future. A number of vessels were sent to cruise

(58) Angoulême had a large force of horse and foot near La Rochelle with 22 cannon. (R. S.)

(59) They had been sent to Buckingham on July 20. They now returned on August 6 to Rochelle and kept guard at Le Fourneau fort, near St. Nicholas' gate, ready to oppose the machinations of Angoulême. P. M., p. 182.

round the mouth of the river, and the besieged were once more reduced to desperate straits.[60]

On the 10th of August Buckingham made a desperate attack upon a demi-lune situated near the Antioch bastion, but was forced to retire after suffering considerable loss.[61] The same day a violent storm destroyed the machine which the English had erected towards La Flotte to annoy the besieged.[62] These reverses had a depressing effect upon the men in the trenches, but a report arriving next day that the garrison in the citadel were now reduced to biscuit and horseflesh, they pressed on the siege with renewed vigour.[63]

In spite of the desperate attempts made from outside to break through the besiegers' lines, the watchfulness of the English continually frustrated the designs of the enemy, and all Richelieu's extravagant promises and bribes, offered to the person who succeeded in getting victuals into the fort, were of no avail.[64] Toiras himself had almost given up hope of being relieved, and the English

(60) One bark, in which were several noblemen, tried to escape from the island, but it was captured and all in it were made prisoners. P. M.

(61) This protected a well near the eastern side of the fort towards the coast, and the English keenly desired to destroy it.

(62) This had been erected on July 17th, and consisted of barks tied together, full of earth, and on which three guns were mounted. R. S.

(63) P. M. Richelieu had heard that their provisions would only last 10 days and was much perturbed, yet Toiras' messenger had informed him that the Governor had victuals for two months more. See Toiras' letter of July 26/August 5. R. D. A. and S. F. S.

(64) On the 14th of August Richelieu offered 10,000 crowns to anyone who succeeded in taking 50 tons of food into Fort St. Martin. See his letter of Sept. 15. Three days afterwards he begs the Sieur de Beaulieu to hazard his 6 ships at Olonne for that purpose. R. D. A.

were keenly desirous of bringing the siege to a successful issue as quickly as possible, owing to the scarcity of victuals in the camp. Buckingham, too, was eagerly looking out for the long-expected reinforcements from England, to fill up the gaps in his army and to guard the ever extending lines of communications.[65] On August 14, he speaks of the unsatisfactory state of the army owing to the non-arrival of these additional troops, and refuses to send any more vessels to England till the surrender of the citadel takes place, so many ships being required to prevent the passage of vessels trying to run the blockade.[66] At the same time, no news had been received from home for over a month, "not so much as by a fisher boat,"[67] and Buckingham was well aware that the longer he tarried before St. Martin's the weaker would become his position at home, where his enemies were increasing their clamours for his disgrace and punishment.

But the state of the besieged had now become nearly hopeless. Wretched weather had almost brought them to the verge of prostration, and the gallant band were all the more depressed at receiving no news from the mainland.[68] On the 17th of August three men bravely attempted to cross the channel by swimming, carrying despatches from Toiras. Of these, one was taken by the

(65) All this time Charles was showing much solicitude over the question of victuals. From time to time he made inquiries, and censured several officials for slackness, but want of money always retarded the despatch of the provisions, and that could not be obtained unless Charles agreed to the three demands of the Parliament. Yet, in spite of this, 2,000 more men were to be sent to Rochelle. See July 31, Coke to Conway, S. P. D., and also August 5, King to Marlborough.

(66) Letters to Conway, and Nicholas, S. P. D., August 14.

(67) Sir Allen Apsley to Nicholas, S. P. D., August 14, 1627.

(68) They had received no news for 5 weeks (H. R. R. says 7) from the mainland. R. D. A.

PLAN DU FORT DE SAINT MARTIN AVEC LES TRAVAUX DE MONSIEUR DE TOIRAS ET LES TRANCHÉES FAITES PAR LES ANGLOIS
REPRESENTATION

FORT ST. MARTIN, IN RÉ. (From a contemporary French print).

English, the second was drowned, but the third succeeded in crossing the narrow channel, and after painfully crawling to Fort Louis reached the French camp almost dead from exhaustion.[69] The news he brought filled the whole French army with consternation.[70] The citadel could only hold out for five days, and if not relieved before the sixth day would be forced to surrender.

But however desperate might be the condition of the garrison in the fort, the besiegers were by no means well off. The cry for more victuals was heard on all sides. Buckingham was for ever scanning the horizon for the expected provision ships, but each succeeding day brought no relief to his pent-up feelings. Everything was being done in England to send off the necessary supplies, but money was not forthcoming, and the Navy officials were at their wits' end to know how to supply Buckingham's needs. "The fleet is not victualled beyond Oct. 12," writes Becher to Conway, "and if victuals come within twenty days of an end, there will be no possibility to detain the mariners there."[71]

Meanwhile Buckingham caused a barricade of masts fastened together to be constructed on that side of the fort facing the sea, and sank several vessels in front of this to strengthen the work. "In short, he omits nothing to shut in the besieged from the sea, which puts the Sieur de Toiras and his force to much inconvenience."[72] But

(69) The letter carried by the second swimmer in a musket shot was thrown up on the coast and safely reached the hands of Beaumont. The third, whose name was Pierre Lanier, of Tonnein's in Gascony, received a pension from Louis for his gallant exploit. M. D. O. and R. D. A.

(70) Richelieu, writing on Sept. 1 to Guron, says, "I die each day, hoping to hear that victuals have entered the fort. Such intelligence would give me a new lease of life."

(71) S. P. D., Charles I., Aug 29/Sept. 9.

(72) P. Mervault's Diary. This barricade which, says S. F. S.,

the destruction of this work shortly afterwards, and the want of victuals, coupled with the incessant rains and long hours of weary watchfulness, were gradually undermining the fortitude of the besiegers. Buckingham, on the 20th of August, again sent Toiras a summons to surrender,[73] but the latter returned a stout refusal and resolved to hold out to the bitter end. During the latter days of this month a number of boats eluded the careless watch of the English vessels, and the few provisions brought by these greatly encouraged the drooping spirits of the besieged.[74]

Nevertheless, Richelieu's unwearied efforts in raising ships for service against the English were now beginning to bear fruit.[75] From every port of France he had chartered vessels, and relying upon help from Spain, and hoping to receive before the end of the month some cruisers building in Holland for the French Government, he strained every nerve for an attempt upon the blockading ships. And his untiring energy reaped its reward. On Sept. 7, a number of French pinnaces succeeded in

resembled that fort erected by the Spaniards at Ostend, called "Le château de merveilles," was destroyed a few days afterwards by a violent N. E. wind. P. M.

(73) S. F. S.

(74) On August 28, Capt. W. Jewell speaks of the "squadron hereabouts strongly condemned for letting supplies get into fort. Land captains say that Pennington only is worthy of respect." S P. D., Charles I.

(75) The Cardinal's labours had been extraordinary. On all sides complaints were made by English captains of home vessels of the enormous number of French ships met in the open seas. Sir F. Gorges writes on Aug. 23 to the Council complaining of the depredations of 6 French and 2 Biscayner vessels on the Cornish coasts. Captain Burch reports on Aug. 25 to Carteret that the seas were full of French boats, and that he can stay out no longer. S. P. D., Charles I.

running the blockade, and the eyes of the starving garrison were filled with joy at beholding some seven or eight of these small vessels grounding near the fort, filled with victuals and munition of every kind. The arrival of these succours[76] proved most opportune to the besieged garrison, now almost at their last gasp. Toiras himself was ill, and each soldier was limited to a ration of four ounces of bread per day. But now fresh life was infused into their weary frames, and although the extra provisions were merely sufficient for some seven or eight days,[77] the chances of being relieved seemed to their despondent hearts within the bounds of possibility. [78]

But a diversion takes place which once more damps the ardour of the garrison and raises correspondingly the spirits of the besiegers. Rochelle had at length decided to throw in its lot with the English,[79] and on Sept. 1, a Council was held in the town to consider the question of conjunction with the besieging army in Ré. On the following day reinforcements arrived at the English

(76) The French had carried out this project with much gallantry. The pinnaces were chased on several occasions by the English fleet before they succeeded in reaching Sables D'Olonne, where the whole squadron was ordered to rendezvous. From thence, under the command of the Sieur De Valins (Valence) of Bayonne, the Baron de Saugeon and other nobles, the pinnaces rushed the stockade which, often broken by storms and repaired, had been, fortunately for them, much damaged by a storm on the night preceding the attempt. (R. D. A., S. F. S. and R. S.)

(77) On the pinnaces were some 120 soldiers of the regiment of Champagne, which would thus greatly increase the number of those requiring victuals. R. D. A.

(78) Toiras, too, had received a letter from Louis which gave him much encouragement. R. D. A.

(79) The Rochellers were at length goaded to fire upon the forts which Louis was constructing near the town, and this practically proved the *casus belli*. R.S.

camp,[80] and Buckingham determined to press on the siege with greater energy. In the meantime messengers from both the English and the garrison in St. Martin's were sent to Louis to discuss conditions of peace, but the French monarch refused to consider the matter.[81] A former letter from Toiras had urged the Cardinal to throw a body of men into the island near the fort of La Prée, and so put the English between two fires. Richelieu now acts upon the suggestion, though against the wishes of many of the royal councillors,[82] and barks were quickly collected for the purpose of sending an advanced force of 500 men into Ré. The French also continued their work on the forts near Rochelle, and exasperated both English and Rochellers by their vigorous measures.[83] The former, however, could make little further progress till their victuals arrived from England,[84] and although Buckingham himself worked unsparingly in his efforts[85] to maintain the offensive operations, the

(80) These were the 2000 Irish from Waterford which had sailed "on Monday last," under Sir Peter Crosby and Sir Ralph Bingley. S. P. D., August 30. Charles I. W. Willett to Nicholas.

(81) R. D. A.

(82) These spoke of the difficulty of sending the best soldiers to Ré, and at the same time of investing Rochelle. Richelieu combats all their objections, and Louis himself helps on the work by writing a letter to Toiras demanding the names of all the garrison with him. P. M.

(83) The Rochellers had intercepted a message from Louis to Angoulême in which mention was made of a dyke being built across the harbour, and of starving the garrison into surrender. R. D. A. and P. M.

(84) "If we lose this island it shall be your faults in England," wrote Sir Ed. Conway to his father, Secretary Conway. S. P. D., Sept. 4, Charles I.

(85) "His good affection to the honour of the King and good of the religion made him despise the danger." Ibidem. Conway was

siege continued without any perceptible advantage to the English army.

Meanwhile, Rochelle had sent a small squadron under Jean Guiton to make a junction with their co-religionists. Seven more ships left the city for Ré on the 12th of September, bearing the articles of treaty drawn up between the two Protestant allies. They reached the scene of action just in time to find an incessant cannonade being maintained by the besiegers. Buckingham had attacked a half-moon on that side of the fort facing La Flotte, but was forced to retire after suffering severe loss.[86] Nevertheless, the ill-success on the part of the English in no way weakened the strictness of the blockade, and although Toiras again received further supplies from small boats eluding by night the English fleet, the garrison were once more reduced to the most desperate straits. On the 18th the Governor wrote to Louis saying that he had only sufficient provisions for two weeks, and if not relieved before the 8th of October, would be compelled to surrender for want of food. The losses he had experienced in resisting the vigorous assaults of the besiegers had greatly weakened his force, and the soldiers under him were now beginning to waver. On Sept. 19, a mutiny broke out in the citadel, which was only quelled by Toiras' promise to make a sortie or yield on the 2nd of October, if in the meantime no succours should reach the fort.[87]

Unfortunately for the assailants, they were in no condition to profit materially by their enemy's weakness.

one of Buckingham's most trusty satellites, but we have no proof that Buckingham was entirely devoid of courage. As a rule, he bore himself with much gallantry in the field.

(86) Among the killed was Colonel Borrack, one of Buckingham's most trusty Commanders. P. M. and R. S.

(87) H. R. R. and P. M.

The cry for victuals was continually being heard, and although the Government were moving heaven and earth to send out ample supplies,[88] none were forthcoming. "The army grows daily weaker, victuals waste, purses are empty, ammunition consumes, winter grows, the enemy increases in number and power, and we hear nothing from England," writes Sir Edward Conway, on September 20, to his father, Secretary Conway. Yet how could Buckingham expect succours from home, where Charles' refusal to compromise with Parliament had almost ruined the Navy. Buckingham had even been requested to send home some of his ships, at a moment when he was himself hard pressed to find sufficient vessels for preventing supplies from entering the fort, and for coping with the daily-increasing numbers of the French fleet.[89]

In spite of this, however, the news of the extremity to which Toiras was now reduced urged the besieging army to renewed activity. But Richelieu's ceaseless energy

(88) Victuals had been put on board as early as August 25, to take to Rochelle, and on Sept. 4, Becher wrote to the Council that "there goes now victual for the fleet consisting of 4,500 mariners from Oct. 12, to Dec .20, and the £14,000 sent with him is to maintain the land army (being 6,900 men) for as long a time." But contrary winds always prevent the fleet from setting out.

(89) The Home Government were in a state of continual anxiety concerning the alliance between France and Spain. Hippesley writes on Sept. 17 to Nicholas that 25 ships and 10,000 men were preparing at Dunkirk, ready to join the French. (S. P. D., Charles I.) Secret instructions, too, were given to Trevor on the 19th to intercept and destroy some French ships at the Texel, but his squadron was too weak, and he was forced to rejoin Mervyn in the Downs. (S. P. D., Charles I.) Later on Nicholas, writing to Mervyn on Sept. 29, says, "The eyes of the King and the best part of the kingdom are fixed on Sir Henry (Mervyn) for intercepting the French ships and 20 Dunkirkers." These latter were in the Low Countries and almost ready to move. Ibidem.

was now dominating the whole field of operations. He personally supervised the task of providing means for relieving the garrison in St. Martin's, and fully assured that the Spanish fleet was at his disposal and was already on its way to join the French force,[90] he concentrated at Sables d'Olonne a number of small vessels, filled with provisions of all kinds, and on which was a force of about 800 men including 60 nobles.

On the night of Sept. 28, this fleet of 35 barks from Sables d'Olonne made a desperate attempt to run the blockade and carry provisions to the starving garrison. A tempest held them in the *rade* till the early hours of the morning, then the wind suddenly changed to north-east, and with a bold dash which completely surprised the English squadron, 29 of the French barks succeeded in getting to the fort through the very midst of Buckingham's fleet, and landed their provisions near the walls of the beleaguered citadel.[91]

Buckingham now sees that all hope of starving out the garrison is gone, and he decides upon returning to England, convinced that nothing further can be gained by continuing the siege. But he is dissuaded from his purpose by the Duke of Soubise, and by the arrival of a

(90) In his letter to Louis of Oct 2, he states that the Spanish fleet was ready to move, and that he fully expected its arrival by the 10th of October at the latest. But Richelieu was deceived. Spanish diplomacy had no intention of allowing the fleet of Spain to aid France in weakening England's position.

(91) According to some French authorities Buckingham knew the attempt was to be made, but was unaware of the route the French barks were to take. The stormy weather proved a great obstacle to the English, and fortunately for the enemy's chances of success it caused the original plan to be changed, which was not to break through the English vessels, but to range the island. Buckingham, knowing this, had placed his fleet ready to intercept the French barks, but chance had now upset his calculations. S F. S.

messenger from England, who spoke of the near approach of a reinforcement of 6,000 men under Lord Holland.[92] Sorely against his will he consents to continue the siege operations, but without great hopes of a successful termination crowning his persistent efforts. His own personal courage and energy were never at fault, and in this last success of the enemy he cannot be said to have been guilty of not taking precautions for frustrating the French operations,[93] but his utter incapacity was doomed sooner or later to make the expedition a disastrous failure.

On the 3rd of October, letters came to Rochelle, written from Nismes, stating that the Protestants of southern France had consented to unite with the English and Rochellers.[94] The latter now sign a treaty of alliance with Buckingham, and immediately afterwards reinforce the English with a squadron of twenty ships under Abraham Chevalier.[95] In consequence of this the blockade of Ré becomes stricter than ever, and all future attempts at provisioning the fort from outside seem to be quite futile. Fort Prée itself is soon reduced to the severest of straits,[96] and a new lease of hope is infused into the wearied spirits of the besieging force.

(92) H. R. R. and P. M. Becher, too, writing to Conway, says that Buckingham had almost got ready to return, when Rochelle offered to take 1,000 men into the town and to send 500 French to help the besiegers. S. P. D., Oct. 3, Charles I.

(93) "It is scarcely to be imagined how this attempt could have succeeded, for there is a nightly watch of 600 men in boats, and the Duke takes such pains that the soldiers themselves pity him." Viscount Wilmot to Conway, Oct. 6/16, S. P. D., Charles I.

(94) P. M.

(95) C. de la Roncière, 'Histoire de la Marine Française.' Vol. IV, p. 523.

(96) Richelieu, writing to the Bishop of Maillezais on Oct. 16, said that Prée would capitulate if not succoured by the 18th. State Letters.

Unfortunately a culpable negligence on the part of the fleet let a strong French force of 6,000 men and 300 horse land near Fort Prée on October 5 and the following days, which was destined to be fraught with disastrous consequences to the besieging army.[97] The little fort was thus saved from destruction, and the French now possessed a base of operations from which they could watch a favourable moment for throwing succours into St. Martin's. Some days afterwards, laxity among the besiegers allowed a number of messengers to escape from the citadel, and to convey to Louis full information from Toiras concerning the condition of things inside. It was a critical moment for the English in Ré. Adverse winds continually prevented succours reaching them from England, the Spanish fleet was ready to put to sea, and if only Richelieu could have persuaded Spain to send these ships to Rochelle as an escort to his own fleet just built in Holland, the destruction of the English would have been complete. But fortunately for Buckingham and the operations in Ré, the Spaniards made no attempt to move,[98] and the golden opportunity so eagerly desired by Richelieu passed away. Nevertheless, the French had now prepared everything for a final coup, and the feeble condition of the English forces gave them every hope of striking a sudden and successful blow against the

(97) S. F. S. and P. M.

(98) Richelieu was almost in despair over the dilatoriness of Spain. Their refusal to budge tended to upset all his plans completely. See his letter to the Cardinal de Bérulle. Vol. II. State Papers, p. 669. Bib. Nat. Paris. What a difference this large fleet of 38 ships carrying 4,000 men would have made to the forces gathering round Rochelle. It is true that a States' fleet of 20 ships was watching this squadron, but it would scarcely have dared to attack the Spaniards without Trevor's ships aiding them, and these latter were as usual without victuals. See Conway's letter to Wilmot. S. P. D., Oct. 15.

invading army. The information they received from England by means of spies told them that no help could be expected from that quarter for many days to come,[99] and they now began to concentrate large numbers of picked troops upon the eastern side of the island. One force, six to seven hundred strong, landed near Fort Prée but was fiercely attacked and beaten back by the English, who, pressing home their advantage, almost succeeded in entering the little fort itself. But the reinforcements[100] to the enemy forced them at last to quit the ground they had so fiercely contested, and they were ultimately obliged to retreat to their main body encircling St. Martin's.

On October 22, Buckingham was expecting an attack from La Flotte village, near which the enemy had assembled large bodies of men. He ordered 2,000 men, who were guarding the trenches on the Antioch side of the fort, to march eastward in order to succour the garrison there. But the danger having passed away, the English relieving force returned once more to the trenches.

Meanwhile the forces which Richelieu was despatching to Ré were causing intense uneasiness in the English

(99) Lord Holland had vainly been trying to set sail from England with the relieving force, but contrary winds baffled all his attempts. Charles himself had been strenuously urging on the departure of this fleet, but in vain. Not a vessel could set out, and owing to their enforced stay in England, the sailors and soldiers were fast consuming the provisions intended for Rochelle. Curiously enough, this same wind would have wafted Buckingham back to England in comparative ease, had he carried out his resolve, early in October, to abandon the siege of St. Martin's fort. S. P. D., Charles I., John Ashburnham to Nicholas, Oct .25 ; also Conway to Wilmot, Oct. 15.

(100) On October 20. R. S. They amounted, according to P. M., to 1,200 men under the Sieur de Canaples.

army. Buckingham saw that it would be impossible to hold his ground against these ever-increasing troops without receiving reinforcements from home,[101] and he now resolved upon a last and final attack on the citadel.

On October 27, towards eight o'clock in the morning, after a solemn chanting of psalms,[102] the English formed up in two divisions, and gave two simultaneous assaults upon the advance works and half-moons lying in the direction of the town of St. Martin's and the sea coast. A force of 2,000 men was directed against the Toiras bastion, but on reaching the cliffs they found their ladders too short, and were driven back by the garrison under the Sieur de Thibault. The same fate pursued a force which had been despatched to attack the bastion of Antioch.[103] Nevertheless, in spite of these reverses, the brave but weary sons of Albion gallantly maintained their position for two hours against the force opposing them from higher and more advantageous ground, but in the end they were forced to yield before the fierce attack of the French, whose numbers were discovered to be far in excess of what Buckingham had expected to find.[104] The English lost heavily in these brave but futile attempts, and Buckingham, discouraged at seeing his ranks thus thinned and the deaths of so many brave officers,[105] re-

(101) And of what use would have been these succours, we wonder. When Holland reached Plymouth, everything was in confusion, and no one knew what the provisions consisted of.

(102) R. D. A.

(103) Ibidem.

(104) They reckoned on finding about 500 men with Toiras, but owing to numerous reinforcements getting past the English fleet, they found this number augmented to nearly 2,000. S. P. D., Charles I, Nov. 5th, and various French authorities.

(105) There fell Sir J. Radcliff, Sir Charles Rich, Sir Alex. Brett, Sir R. Bingley, Sir Ed. Hawley. Sir A. Gray and Lord Mountjoy were made prisoners. Ibidem.

solved to abandon the island and to set sail for England. Since September 28, when the citadel had received its additional forces and replenished its stock of provisions, he had given up all hope of bringing the siege operations to a successful conclusion.

Large reinforcements now reached the French force in Ré, the watch by the English fleet having greatly relaxed in vigilance. Buckingham's army, in consequence, felt the utter uselessness of further warfare, and the Duke, despairing of receiving succours from England, issued an order to break up the camp and retreat to the island of Loix.

Meanwhile the Marquis of Schomberg,[106] who was in supreme command of the French forces, reached the island on October 28. Landing near Fort Prée, he made for La Flotte with four battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry, and found that the English had evacuated the whole country there, and were marching towards the Isle of Loix, leaving two squadrons of horse to cover their retreat. Schomberg followed with his total force of some 4,000 infantry and 500 horse. In crossing, by means of a small wooden bridge, the channel separating the island of Loix from the mainland of Ré, the retreating forces pressed in such numbers over the frail structure, that a part of it gave way beneath them, and the French, hurrying up to the attack, threw Buckingham's forces into the greatest confusion. Hundreds were slain on the bridge and the *chaussée* leading to the island of Loix, but the English, covered by their cannon which had preceded them, and which were now turned upon the pursuing enemy, succeeded at last in passing the canal

(106) Born 1575, died 1632. One of Louis XIII's. most skilful marshals. Was Ambassador to England in 1615. He helped Louis considerably in his struggles with Montmorency and other disaffected nobles.

THE ISLAND OF RÈ AND COASTS OF POITOU. (From a contemporary French print).

and in gaining an entrenched position beyond. The French advanced troops under Marillac impetuously charged the forces which Buckingham had ordered to rally beyond the entrenchment, but their rashness cost them dear. A heavy cannonade drove them back in great confusion, and they were obliged to retreat once more across the bridge after suffering severe loss.[107]

The English troops were now safe from the enemy's attacks, but their position had become extremely perilous. To remain in Loix was to expose them to the incessant attacks of the tried soldiers which Louis was continually despatching to Ré in increasing numbers. Victuals, too, were fast giving out, and no more could be expected from England, owing to the contrary winds which were keeping Holland's fleet lying inactive in harbour. No less than 4,000 men had been already lost in this disastrous campaign, while the remainder of the army had only been kept alive by the generosity of some patriotic merchants.[108] Buckingham saw clearly that further delay would only bring with it more disasters, and on the night of Oct. 29 he embarked his forces, leaving early on the following day the fatal shore which had proved the last resting place of so many gallant warriors.

But the miseries of the English were not yet at an end. As if fate still intended to be hostile to them, the winds which hitherto had been all in favour of a homeward voyage, and which consequently had prevented Holland's ships from setting out to relieve the army in Ré, now blew with tempestuous violence from the north. For five

(107) The English loss in this retreat amounted to upwards of 2,000 men, including about 200 prisoners.

(108) "His soul melts with tears to think that a state should send so many men and no provisions at all for them. But for his provision through merchants they had been miserably starved long since." Sir A. Apsley to Nicholas, Nov. 1/11. S. P. D. Charles I.

days the fleet was in a most precarious situation, but by good fortune not a vessel was lost. On the evening of November 7, Buckingham let loose from the land, and after a stay of three months and sixteen days off Ré, the fleet bent its course for England, leaving behind it memories of one of the most calamitous reverses ever experienced in the annals of English history. To Louis' great disgust, no opposition was met on the northerly journey,[109] and on November 12, the *Triumph* reached Portsmouth, bringing back to England once again the moving spirit in that terrible drama, the last act of which was to culminate in civil war, intestine horrors, and a monarch's execution.

Thus ended this disastrous expedition, which had cost the lives of nearly 5,000 brave sons to England,[110] and had still further lowered that prestige which Elizabeth so worthily maintained, and which the Stuart monarchs so basely contributed to diminish in European eyes. The whole organization and execution of the campaign reflected the greatest discredit upon the entire administration of the Navy, and it is difficult to know upon what to put the greatest blame—whether upon

(109) The Duke of Guise, who throughout the naval operations at Ré had been bitterly cursing the refusal of Spain to come to aid the French with its fleet, in time to accomplish the destruction of the English, was in a critical condition on the 14th. His fleet was too weak to oppose the departure of the English force, and the Spanish fleet of 17 ships appeared too late to be of any use. No wonder Sir Ferdinand Gorges, writing to Conway on Oct. 19, said, "The Spaniard, enemy to both nations, looking how he may advance his ends, will give the great blow at last." S. P. D., Charles I.

(110) The number of troops sent out, exclusive of reinforcements, amounted in all to 7,833 men, of which 2,889 returned. S. P. D., November, 1627. Most French Authorities place the English loss at upwards of 8,000, but this is obviously exaggerated.

Charles' irritating obstinacy in continuing at variance with his Parliament, and so preventing a sufficiency of funds from being furnished for the needs of the Navy; whether upon the King's assent to Buckingham's assumption of the supreme direction of the naval expedition, and that favourite's utter incapacity for such a responsible position; or, again, upon the mal-administration of the Navy officials, who never dared raise their voices in adverse criticism of the corruption and vice in the naval service.

From beginning to end the campaign was a series of blunders. Want of victuals, incompetency in the supreme command, lack of unity among the chief officers, deficiency in *matériel*, an inadequate Intelligence Department, all these were strikingly in evidence in this terrible disaster. Buckingham had little information concerning the enemy and his dispositions, otherwise he would assuredly, incapable commander though he was, have marched to attack St. Martin's fort immediately after repulsing the enemy at the moment of his disembarkation. But his greatest error was his refusal to capture Fort La Prée. Seemingly a trivial outpost, it nevertheless proved of the greatest value to the French landing force, and became a base of operations of the utmost utility. Even this might have been neutralized had the fleet been well disposed, and sufficiently on the alert to prevent succours from being thrown into the fort. Yet not only was this great duty neglected, but an army of 5,000 men succeeded in disembarking while the fleet was riding in the straits close at hand. Negligence like this could only be equalled by the culpable carelessness of those, who were responsible for the construction of the ladders prepared for the great assault on the citadel on October 27. Turning from such errors as these, it is pleasing to note the personal courage of the soldiers,

even of the Commander himself. They were the same determined, fearless warriors, as were the followers of Drake and Hawkins, and the heroic courage of these men, vainly trying to hack at the enemy from the tops of ladders too short to be of any use, cannot but fill the reader with a thrill of intense enthusiasm.

Such was the disastrous expedition to the Isle of Ré, which sealed the fate of La Rochelle, and raised the prestige of France and its presiding genius to a height hitherto unequalled. Richelieu's untiring efforts had reaped their reward. The French Navy, his great creation, had become a potent factor in European politics. Ere three more years had passed, it rivalled even that of the first maritime nation of the time, and patriotic Englishmen were compelled to look on in helpless despair, while a monarch's unyielding obstinacy and narrow-minded discernment helped on the deterioration of that which was the pride and mainstay of the English nation.

LA ROCHELLE DURING THE SIEGE, 1628. (From a contemporary print).

CHAPTER VIII.

OPERATIONS OFF LA ROCHELLE TO THE IMPOSITION OF SHIP-MONEY. 1628--1634.

However disastrous had been the results of the Ré expedition, Charles and his ministers were in no wise discouraged. Spurred on by Buckingham, whose vindictive mind was ever urging him to thoughts of revenge on Richelieu and the French Court, the Council early in 1628 took measures for setting forth a fleet for the relief of Rochelle, and for upholding the King's prerogative in the Narrow Seas.[1] In February, a resolution was adopted for fitting out 24 ships in three squadrons, and early in the following month the Earl of Denbigh was ordered to take command of the fleet destined for Rochelle.[2]

Yet the expedition was far from being ready when Denbigh arrived at Plymouth to take over the supreme direction of affairs, and although Buckingham's presence gave life to the preparations going on night and day, the usual hindrances arose, to prevent the fleet from hoisting sail. Men were wanted to fill up the gaps made by runaways, defects in ships were always being found, money was never forthcoming, and victuals were the reverse of plentiful in spite of the utmost exertion of Buckingham's "bounden servant and slave," Sir James

(1) See Wimbledon's 'Tract on Methods of defending the realm in case the Royal Navy is otherwise employed', which influenced Charles so strongly as to cause a fleet to be despatched on service at all times of the year.

(2) March 1, S. P. D., 1628.

Bagg.[3] So serious had the shortage of mariners become, that French captains and sailors had been put on board many of the fireships, the propriety of which was much questioned, since "the miscarriage whereof might make the greatest delinquents meritorious in the eyes of their sovereign."[4]

But all the efforts of Buckingham and the Navy officers were continually being neutralized by want of funds. The same urgent need, too, was making Sir Charles Morgan send piteous entreaties to the Council for aid in his necessitous circumstances:[5] and the Rochelle deputies in England were adding their supplications and tears to their incessant demands for victuals and assistance, from him who had sworn never to abandon their cause till a satisfactory peace had been obtained. Charles was powerless against such importunate appeals, and making a virtue of necessity, he caused writs to be issued for convoking the two Houses, and on March 17, the King's third Parliament assembled at Westminster.

Whether the House of Commons intended replenishing the King's empty exchequer or not, the convening of the assembly gave another lease of life to the Navy, and the ill-fed, ill-paid mariners gazed with hungry look and eager anticipation towards their only salvation. It was the sole link between themselves and starvation. If Charles in his heedless obstinacy was unable to come to

(3) S. P. D., March 17, 1628. Bagg had been appointed Vice-Admiral of Devon after Eliot's dismissal.

(4) Sir Henry Mainwaring to Buckingham, S. P. D., March 16, 1628. These Frenchmen were Protestants of Rochelle and elsewhere, many of them probably from Soubise's ships, which had taken refuge in Plymouth after Guise's victory and the Ré disaster.

(5) See S. P. D., Feb. 27, and March 18, 1628. Morgan had made a gallant defence of Stade, but money was gone, provisions were running out, and "England seems to have forgotten them."

terms with Parliament, nothing could save the affairs of the Navy from falling into that chaos which it had already experienced under the incapable administration of Nottingham. Even now matters at Portsmouth and Plymouth were in a desperate condition. On March 1, the Council of War had ordered 30 ships to be made ready for sea, but owing to the scarcity of mariners this number was decreased to 24, and afterwards to 15, to such straits were the officers of the Navy brought in order to procure the necessary complement of sailors to man the ships.[6] To increase still further the confusion, a mutiny broke out at Plymouth, which was with great difficulty suppressed.[7] On April 9, only 12 ships were ready for service, and these so ill-manned that the most experienced men protested against the despatch of such an expedition.

"Is it honourable or counsellable," writes an observer of that time, "to put to sea after so much expectation in a place where they will be exposed not only to France but to Spain with not 3,000 quarters of corn?"[8]

But Charles's mind was bent upon succouring Rochelle at all costs, and the distressful state of that beleaguered city silenced all opposition. "In the name of God, come with speed and bring good store of fireworks to overthrow their practices," wrote the Mayor of Rochelle in heart-rending supplication to the deputies in England, and Denbigh, stung to the quick by the knowledge of the

(6) S. P. D., Feb. 23, March 15/29, and April 7, 1628.

(7) A man named Kerby had incited a number of pressed men to arm themselves and to refuse to obey orders. Kerby was sentenced to be hanged, but the mutineers tore down the gallows and even attempted to force the prison gates.

(8) E. Clarke to Buckingham, S. P. D., April 9, 1628. Yet Bagg, on April 8, said he had enough victuals to give 1 lb. a day to 15,000 men for 5 months.

terrible sufferings endured by the patient Rochellers, hurriedly filled up the vacancies among the mariners with 2,000 land soldiers, and set sail on April 27 from Plymouth.[9]

It was a desperate venture that Charles had embarked upon. News had but just arrived that the gallant band of Englishmen at Stade had been forced to surrender to superior forces, owing to the scarcity of victuals and other necessaries which, through the King's obstinate, uncompromising spirit, could not be sent to the garrison there,[10] and now another brave company of English hearts was about to undertake an adventure which bade fair to end as disastrously as the Cadiz Expedition.

Denbigh's fleet consisted of 60 ships, which were divided into three squadrons, commanded respectively by the Earl himself in the *St. Andrew*. Palmer in the *Garland*, and Weddell in the *St. George*. On the 1st of May the whole naval force reached the Breton Channel. and towards evening anchored off Chef de Baye, a large promontory lying to the west of Rochelle. A heavy cannonade from the French batteries on each side of the harbour and entrance soon forced the English fleet to retire out of range, and Denbigh, seeing the enormous number of vessels protecting the palisade, and the heavy guns mounted on the forts of Chef de Baye and Coreille, deemed it advisable to refrain from attacking the mole which Richelieu's skill and foresight had now made so formidable.[11] On the 5th of May an attempt

(9) Bagg to Buckingham, April 22 and 27, 1628.

(10) Stade surrendered on April 17, 1628. See 'Le Mercure de France.' Vol. XIV. p. 404.

(11) Richelieu had upwards of 80 ships of all kinds in Rochelle harbour, which later on were increased to more than 190. Most of these were of small tonnage, but several of them were of 300 or

was made to set fire to the French ships in the harbour, but without success.[12] This was the only serious attack which Denbigh made upon the defending force, and the English Admiral, seeing the impossibility of forcing the entrance, drew off to the open roadstead and cruised about till the 8th, vainly hoping that intelligence would reach the fleet from the city which would aid him in making a successful attack upon the palisade. But nothing arrived from Rochelle, and Denbigh, after a stay of eight days, became convinced that the task was hopeless.

"They found Rochelle," he writes to Buckingham, "so blocked up, that in 8 days' stay they never heard from thence. The palisade is so strengthened with two floats of ships both within and without, moored and fastened together from the ports to half mast high, that lying in shoal water, it is impossible to be forced."[13] The French ships, at the first approach of the English vessels, had made as if to attack them, then suddenly turning about, they left the open harbour and retreated under their guns.[14] Unfavourable winds and the fear of shoal

400 tons, and even as much as 500. For full list see 'Affaires étrangères, 797, folio 198. Bib. Nat. Paris; and also B. N. Dupuy 100, folio 249.

(12) In this attempt Captain Allen and 11 men were lost. S. P. D., May 8, 1628. Palmer to Nicholas. See also letter of Capt. Jacob Williams to Buckingham, where he states that six floaters approached the French vessels, "but Capt. Allen, putting one of them over the boat's side, blew himself and 7 more into the air." May 31, 1628. S. P. D.

(13) S. P. D., May 9, 1628.

(14) Palmer to Nicholas, S. P. D., May 8, 1628. This was the manœuvre which had been arranged by the French Council of War —either to drive the English ships on shore, or to entice them to pursuit, and keep them employed till the ebb of the tide. See 'Les derniers temps du siège de la Rochelle. Relation du Nonce apostolique.' Paris, 1628. R. N. A.

water prevented any pursuit, and slowly and sullenly the attacking squadron gave up all attempts to force the entrance to the port. On May 8, a Council of War decided that nothing further could be done. Denbigh accordingly ordered sail to be set once more for England, and the whole fleet left the fatal waters that had seen but seven months before another disastrous retreat, while "no man but looked back upon the poor town with eyes of pity, though not able to help them."[15] Charles' compromise with his Parliament had come too late. His stupid obstinacy and his refusal to understand the signs of the times, coupled with the dilatory proceedings of his officers through lack of funds, had once again made England the laughing stock of the Continent. Richelieu's policy and superior statesmanship had gained another point; his subtle comprehension and grasp of the mighty influence exerted by an efficient naval force was being demonstrated with indisputable force.[16]

On May 25, Denbigh reached the English Channel, after parting with Palmer two days before. By the end of the month the whole fleet had anchored off Portsmouth, the Vice-Admiral having re-joined the main squadron on the 30th, bringing with him 12 prize ships captured en route.[17]

Nothing daunted by this failure, Charles decided upon another attempt to succour Rochelle, and with this

(15) Palmer to Nicholas. S. P. D.

(16) The King was deeply moved by Denbigh's failure, and it was some time before the latter was reconciled to his monarch. But Denbigh was scarcely to blame for his non-success. Charles could fume and storm, and say "he had timber enough to build more if the ships had been lost," but his oft repeated desire to keep the ships intact was sufficient to tie the hands of any naval commander under the conditions then existing.

(17) S. P. D. Coke to Conway, May 30, 1628.

object in view, he issued positive orders to man all available vessels in the southern ports and set them forth to sea with all speed possible. But the difficulties that faced the Navy officials were almost insuperable. If money were forthcoming, they repeatedly cried, the fleet could sail within fourteen days, but without this serious defect being remedied, neither expostulations nor threats on the King's part could send the expedition to sea. And all this time the Dunkirkers and French were making their presence felt around the coasts. They had taken " three of our victuallers even in sight of the fleet," and they were so busy in the Channel, " that neither ship nor bark could put to sea."[18]

Yet Charles was receiving the Rochelle deputies with tears of sympathy, and was writing off letters of encouragement expressing his fixed determination to despatch instant succours to the beleaguered city. But the confusion at Portsmouth and Plymouth was appalling. Even the captains of the returned vessels, who were constantly enlarging upon the impossible task of forcing the palisade, and who had the recent failure ever before their eyes, did not scruple to give vent to their feelings, so much so indeed that Coke writes to Denbigh to " cry this down and advance the action as the only way to redeem his honour."[19]

During the whole month of July the work of preparing the fleet was steadily pushed on. In order to clear the

(18) On June 20, the Mayor of Plymouth writes that " the French commit spoil on our coasts, and are now grown so bold that they venture within the points of the land, notwithstanding seven King's ships ride in the Sound, but forbear to set out after them, pretending they have no orders." S. P. D., 1628.

(19) S.P.D., June 1, 1628. The admirals of the late fleet, in answer to Coke's letter, sent the relation of their proceedings at Rochelle, and added that nothing could be effected without a north-west wind and a spring tide.

seas of French and Dunkirk cruisers, Denbigh and Palmer were despatched to the French coast with orders to scour the Channel in all directions. But nothing came of this, and the two squadrons returned to harbour with their ships needing repairs and their crews almost ready to mutiny.[20] By the end of the month the fleet at Portsmouth was raised to 56 vessels. Only provisions were now wanting, but the difficulty of procuring these was almost insurmountable. "All shall be done," writes Sir Allen Apsley, one of the Navy Surveyors of victuals, to Nicholas, "that can be done without the earthy first mover—money, money, money."[21] And well did the Navy officers set about their unwelcome task, in spite of the hindrances which were continually besetting them on every side.

In the meantime, while these events were in progress, Rochelle was almost at its last extremity. Letter after letter reached the English Council to urge on the despatch of succours, and although the palisade was now of great strength, few ships of any size were riding there at anchor.[22] The opportunity of attacking the dyke was thus thought feasible by the poor townspeople, whose wails of distress alternated with cries of joy as they saw large numbers of trading vessels pass and re-pass the roadstead, vainly hoping they would prove to be the relieving fleet. But although several attempts to storm the besieged city had been entirely unsuccessful, and a violent tempest had broken the dyke, thereby causing

(20) S. P. D., Denbigh to Buckingham. July 13, 1628.

(21) August 7, 1628, S .P. Dom. Yet on July 5, an estimate of £16,169 was issued for victualling the ships for Rochelle. S. P. Dom.

(22) In August most of Louis' largest ships were at Blavet and other ports of Brittany, inactive for want of seamen. See S. P. D., June 22, 1628.

great losses among Louis' fleet in the harbour;[23] although the additional vessels making ready in French ports to reinforce those fronting Rochelle had not yet arrived,[24] and Richelieu himself was in a state of nervous anxiety over the preparations in the English ports and the failure of the Spanish reinforcement to come to his aid,[25] the auspicious moment for successfully raising the blockade was allowed to pass.

Early in August an urgent message from Rochelle reached England, earnestly soliciting the despatch of the relieving fleet. The time was seasonable. The dyke could be easily broken, only 13 of the vessels in Louis' whole naval force concentrated at that moment off Rochelle were of any size, and most of the ships were ill-manned, badly equipped, and quite incapable of offering any serious resistance.[26] But no help arrived from Charles, and the Rochellers, rendered almost desperate by their terrible misery, and driven by necessity to eat even the leather of their boots, which they soaked and boiled in water prior to assuaging the pangs of hunger by this awful means, were almost on the point of surrendering, when assurance of succours from

(23) On July 4, a great storm had broken the dyke towards Port Neuf. Pierre Mervault. This was probably the same stormy weather that had prevented Palmer from continuing on the French coasts, and which had dispersed his fleet. See S. P. Dom., July 2, 1628.

(24) A large naval force under the Duke of Guise was ready to sail from Marseilles, and only needed a sum of money for the mariners before it put out to sea. In other ports were large numbers of vessels, but the want of sailors was always much felt. R. N. A.

(25) On July 17/27, Richelieu wrote to De Forgis that he expected the arrival of the English fleet in 8 or 10 days. See his State Letters.

(26) P.M. and R.N.A.

England at last reached them, and they decided once more to continue resisting to the last.[27]

The English fleet was now in a good state of forwardness, and Buckingham himself was preparing to take command, when the knife of John Felton cut short his career. On August 23, the favourite of two monarchs, the real ruler of the kingdom, the promoter of all the trouble that had divided England for so long, met his death at the hands of an assassin, and the post of Lord High Admiral was once more vacant. Charles' grief was intense when he received the news of the murderous deed, but the death of his favourite made no difference to the naval preparations. Early in September the fleet was ready to set sail, and on the 7th of that month, under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, the expedition left Portsmouth with the ostensible purpose of relieving Rochelle, but in reality to force Richelieu to accept terms of peace on conditions favourable to England.[28] Two days later a Plymouth contingent of 50 vessels joined the Admiral in the Channel, and the combined naval force, numbering 140 vessels and divided into three squadrons, reached the roadstead off the isle of Ré on the 18th. Some small ships were instantly sent

(27) Ibidem.

(28) Although the want of money had appeared the chief cause of the dilatory proceedings in the setting-out of the fleet, more potent reasons had arisen for keeping it back, and when it finally did leave Portsmouth, it was only for the purpose of opening out negotiations with Richelieu concerning a treaty between the two countries. As far back as July 18, Sir Robert Aiton, writing to the Earl of Carlisle, said, "We are trading for a peace, and so we have it, care not upon what conditions, but neither France nor Spain will hearken without the Pope, nor he, without immunities granted to the Catholics." S. P. D., July 18, 1638, and Lingard's' History.

off to reconnoitre the harbour and the French naval force protecting the dyke. But although both wind and tide were favourable, nothing was attempted, and the fleet for some days maintained a sullen inactivity. On the 23rd, and again on the following day, a feeble attack was made on the enemy's vessels by means of fireships, but the attempt failed, and the ships drawing out of range retired to Chef de Baye.[29]

During the next few days the fleet remained in the roadstead off St. Martin, without doing any offensive operations against the enemy save an occasional desultory cannonade. Meanwhile the sufferings in Rochelle were becoming intolerable. All the efforts of the heroic defenders to co-operate with the relieving force were fruitless, and the terrible condition to which they were now reduced was enough to melt even the hardest heart. On October 13, the English again tried to set fire to the French vessels, but the venture was feebly carried out, the fireships scarcely reaching the entrance of the channel leading to the harbour.[30] It was the last stroke. The city now saw the uselessness of continuing the struggle, and urged to it by Soubise,[31] the gallant remnant of citizens, decimated by famine and the sword, at last brought themselves to surrender. On October 18, after the usual pourparlers had taken place, and the rumours of negotiations for peace between England and France had reached the

(29) However much the English had wished to attempt the dyke, the attack was doomed to failure. Louis' preparations were only too well made for resisting an enemy. A battery of 8 cannon was on Point de Coreille, and several other pieces of ordnance were on the dyke itself, which, by reason of Targone's new invention for making the cannon revolve instead of recoiling, proved formidable foes. See Pierre Mervault's account and R. N. A.

(30) R. N. A.

(31) Ibidem.

doomed city,[32] the few hundreds of emaciated beings, all that remained of some 30,000 inhabitants, opened their gates to the victorious statesman whose patience and perseverance had at last received their due recompense.[33]

During the progress of the negotiations for the surrender of Rochelle, the English fleet remained off Chef de Baye completely inactive and railing against the pusillanimous government that had sent an expedition so far from home waters, only to waste valuable time in a hopeless struggle. And while the sailors were growing discontented, and Charles was sending off messages to Lindsey to force the passage at all costs if feasible,[34] the want of unity in the Council aboard the fleet was making its pernicious influence felt throughout the operations. "The Councils held," wrote Captain Plumleigh to Nicholas, "were rather tumults. Every man spake, and nothing was put to votes but what Weddell and Chudleigh for sea, and Willoughby and Scott for land, thought fit. After the first galling on, when the main business by the

(32) These rumours reached the city on the 16th. See R. S. Montague, second son of the Earl of Manchester, had left with the fleet to open out negotiations with Richelieu concerning conditions of peace. The early surrender of Rochelle greatly upset Montague's calculations. See Lingard's History, and P. Mervault.

(33) 23,000 of the inhabitants are said to have died of hunger. See R. N. A. Out of 600 English who had been left there by Buckingham, but 62 remained alive. Pierre Mervault. It is to Richelieu's credit that he showed no animosity towards these brave but obstinate Huguenots. Doubtless the recent events in Italy had urged him to make his terms acceptable to Rochelle, for Louis had received news, on September 28, that Casale was suffering much at the hands of Milan, and needed help. In January, 1629, Louis relieved Casale. R. N. A. and Wakeman's 'Ascendancy of France.'

(34) S. P. D., October 14, 1628.

men of most judgment was thought unfeasible, and the most which the General seemed to desire was only the firing of some 30 sail of small shipping, not worth the while, then was a Council called for a second attempt, but Weddell, by whom the General was wholly ruled, could not be persuaded to alter the first form. After its failure, a third and fourth attempt were made, but the sailors were cowed by the batteries on shore, and no good was done."[35]

Can one wonder that the sailors were "cowed" by the superhuman task before them? Even a Nelson, with his indomitable courage and his personal influence constraining all his officers to complete unison with his plans, might have shrunk from such a feat as the attack upon the palisade and its defences, for the Cardinal had done his work only too well.

"The dyke," says a French historian, "crowned with four forts and bristling with cannon, was protected towards the town by a floating palisade of 37 ships chained together, and by a flotilla of armed barks; towards the sea by an estacade in demi-lune of 24 vessels tied together and bearing heavy ordnance. The opening left towards the centre for the tides was blocked up by 60 ships sunk before the entrance. Finally, the approaches of the channel were intercepted by a line of 29 vessels, most of them of 400 to 500 tons each, by a multitude of barks and armed "chaloupes," and by the cross fire of the batteries of Chef de Baye and Coreille, which commanded the sea and the two sides of the Channel."[36]

To attempt to force such a defence was sheer madness: to do it with disunion and discontent increas-

(35) S. P. Dom., November 15, 1628.

(36) 'Histoire de France.' Bordier and Charton.

ing among the mariners was merely courting terrible disaster. Lindsey accordingly decided to abandon the task, and on the 25th of October he hoisted sail for England, thus adding another item to the list of maritime enterprises which bigoted obstinacy and blind partisanship had foredoomed to utter failure.

By November 12, the whole fleet, except two vessels,[37] had arrived at Portsmouth, and measures were instantly taken to pay off all the ships save the few necessary for the guard of the Narrow Seas. It was a natural corollary, and one which was expected. Yet the "Dunkirkers and Frenchmen were lying thick on those parts, and were daily taking such ships as pass along the coast," and—O irony of fate! what the mighty armament of Wimbledon had failed to do, a small squadron of Dutch vessels under Peter Hein, of Rotterdam, had successfully accomplished. On November 26, nine Dutch vessels, with three men-of-war as convoy, arrived in Falmouth, bringing with them six Spanish galleons and thirteen other ships containing a treasure worth upwards of two millions in gold.[38] And while the Dutch were setting out fleet after fleet, and Richelieu was creating a navy second to none of the maritime powers, and was building up a large commercial marine and industry, a monarch of singularly slight foresight, but of inordinate prejudices and stubbornness, was doing his utmost, by a series of ill-considered and imprudent measures, to bring destruction upon the nation's commerce and its one and only safeguard.[39]

(37) *Esperance* and *6th Whelp*. S. P. Dom.

(38) J. Treshar to Conway. S. P. D., Nov. 27, 1628.

(39) The subsidies granted by Charles' third Parliament were already expended in paying the King's debts and the cost of the late expeditions. Charles had also attacked the merchant adventurers on account of the cessation of the exportation of cloth, which

On January 20, Parliament re-assembled, and after a short but stormy session, during which nothing took place save heated discussions against the "Bishops' interpretation of the 39 articles," and an attack upon the collection of tunnage and poundage which had been effected during the recess, Charles, on March 10, angrily dissolved the House which had refused to listen either to his persuasive measures or to his menaces. All hope of being able to continue a naval force at sea sufficient to uphold the dignity of the nation was now practically impossible. Charles therefore worked diligently for a peace both with France and Spain, and chiefly through the Queen's solicitations a treaty with the former country was signed on April 14th.[40] The peace was an urgent necessity forced upon the King by his impecunious circumstances, but the laying-up of the Royal vessels was a cruel blow to England's continental allies. Richelieu, who had now created a potent naval force capable of seconding most adequately his great design,[41] was free to turn his attention to German affairs, and to continue the projects of Louis' great predecessor. The Edict of Restitution[42] had just demonstrated the victory of the Catholic party

thus decreased the customs' dues and at the same time the amount in his exchequer. See Gardiner's History, 1629-35, Vol. 1. Pers. Govt.

(40) Signed at Susa, where Richelieu had gained a signal triumph over Spain, at the same time relieving Casale.

(41) In 1629 Richelieu had ordered an inquiry into the state of the French marine. It took two years to complete, but the condition of the navy showed the wonderful progress made under his skilful guidance. He had no less than 40 men-of-war, and several more were being constructed, including two of 1,200 and 1,700 tons. See Lacour Gayet : 'La marine militaire de la France.'

(42) March 19/29. Cf. Wakeman.

in Germany ; the peace of Lubeck[43] had driven Christian of Denmark from continuing to participate in the murderous warfare which was encircling the German states in its terrible embrace. Only the want of a naval squadron had prevented Wallenstein from carrying the war into the isles of Denmark, and even into Sweden itself. And the English fleet, which was continually being requested for the purpose of maintaining a series of operations in the Baltic, was doomed to lie up in harbour, each ship, as in James' time, like a "fallen colossus," inactive and useless. Yet the seas were still swarming with Dunkirkers, and the only vessels put to sea by him who spoke of his naval supremacy with ever-increasing pride, consisted of two small squadrons under Sir Henry Palmer and Captain Mennes.[44]

"It was with the greatest difficulty," writes a modern historian "that a few ships not worthy to be called a fleet, could be kept afloat for the guard of the Narrow Seas ; and even partial defence of the coast, and the coasting trade was not accomplished in the cases of the fishermen of the eastern coast, and the foreign trade of the ports in the west, except at the cost of the sea-towns principally benefited."[45]

Fortunately for England, the great losses which Spain had experienced at the hands of the Dutch, and the enormous drain upon her resources for the war in Germany, made her willing to listen to overtures of peace with Charles.[46] But not without suffering further

(43) May 12/22. Cf. Gardiner.

(44) Mennes, early in March, had done a short cruise of 10 days without effecting anything. Palmer was sent to ply about the Channel Isles in consequence of rumours of French preparations on the northern coast of France.

(45) J. Bruce. Preface to S. P. D., 1629.

(46) In addition to the great loss of plate which Spain suffered at the hands of the Dutch Admiral Peter Hein (see p. 218), there

damage from Spanish cruisers was England able to enter into negotiations with her powerful foe. In September, a number of English ships were captured off the isle of St. Christopher,[47] and that same month the Mayor of Dartmouth was complaining in piteous tones to the Council concerning the town's enormous losses. "The Dunkirk and Biscayan men-of-war, and French pirates," he wrote, "infest that coast more than in former times; they have taken five ships of that port within a short time, and many others of other ports. Men resolve to keep their ships at home whereby the King's customs are impaired."[48]

And a few days after these words were penned, Sir Henry Mervyn was sending word to the Admiralty Lords that the Dutch were masters of Cartagena in the West Indies, with 3 millions of treasure, and that another large fleet of Hollanders was at sea, "manned with almost as many English mariners as native."[49] The potent influence exerted by a powerful marine was not lost on the Dutch, and the little republic was thus

was universal discontent in the country owing to the absence of silver and depreciation of money value. See S. P. Ireland, July 18, and Aug. 8, 1628. On April 4, Mennes writes to Nicholas that "ships from Malaga report a world of poverty" in Spain, and that rumours of peace were being joyfully received by the people. S. P. Dom., 1629.

(47) C. de la Roncière, 'Histoire de la marine française,' quoting depositions of Maître du Plough, Nov. 12, 1629. See also S. P. D., Nov. 5, and 12, 1629.

(48) S. P. D. Sept. 7, 1629.

(49) S. P. D., Sept. 12 and 22, 1629. No wonder English sailors preferred foreign service. "Foul winter weather," writes Mervyn, on Sept. 25, to the Lords of the Admiralty, "naked backs and empty bellies, make the common men voice the King's service worse than a galley slavery. It were fit for his Majesty, and as much for his honour, to have no ships abroad unless more certain cause be taken to supply them."

amassing enormous wealth, while a kingdom, more qualified to be mistress of the seas by her insular position, her maritime population, and her commercial instincts, was declining in naval strength and political prestige.

However much the peace with France had relieved Charles of a heavy financial burden, the laying-up of the Royal vessels now let loose the Dunkirk cruisers and Turkish freebooters with greater freedom for their depredations. The few ships still at sea were totally unable to cope with the enemy's speedy men-of-war, and the want of victuals was always neutralizing the untiring efforts of Mervyn and his fellow captains. "The necessities of the times," wrote Mervyn to Lord Chamberlain Dorset, "can be no reason that ships are neither supplied nor called home when their victuals end. These neglects are the cause why mariners fly to the service of foreign nations. Without better order, His Majesty will lose the honour of the Seas, the love and loyalty of his sailors, and his Royal Navy will drop."[50]

Yet the Dunkirkers "were so thick about Torbay, that no ship could pass free," and the Newcastle merchants, who had already experienced losses to the value of nearly £7,000 at the hands of those destructive foes, had 300 ships ready to sail for London, which "dared not venture to sea till some cause was taken for their safety."[51] From every side arose the same bitter complaints concerning the inadequacy of protection for the merchants and fishermen. Carteret was sending urgent appeals to the Council for the despatch of ships to the Channel Isles, whose trade with St. Malo and other places was cut off.[52] The cloth merchants were unable

(50) S. P. D., Sept. 25, 1629.
(51) Ibidem, March 7, 1630.
(52) S. P. D., April 23 and June 20, 1630.

to stir forth from the Humber, and 200 fishing boats at Yarmouth had to wait an incredible time before Mervyn was finally sent to "defend His Majesty's poor subjects whose fortune depended upon the freedom of the sea."[53] And Richelieu, that "glorious Atlas of France," whose penetrating glance accurately gauged the position to which the want of an adequate force had reduced Charles, found himself strong enough to dispute with the latter the prerogative which England so tenaciously clung to, and strove to maintain.

"On the English coasts," ran the instructions to the French captains, "or in the open sea, if you are to leeward of the English ships, salute them, but in the contrary case, force them to salute the French flag."[54]

The 40 ships at Bordeaux, the ships of war preparing at Dieppe and elsewhere, the great fleet in Rochelle waters, not to mention the vessels building in Holland, all this was now to be put into the political crucible, and Charles could do little but writhe under the exasperating knowledge, that the statesman, who understood better than himself the importance of a strong marine, was now able to dictate his own conditions upon any points of dispute that might arise between the two nations.[55]

(53) Ibidem, May 9th.

(54) De la Roncière, quoting instructions of April 13, 1630.

(55) Sir Thomas Roe, who had been sent to bring about a truce between Sweden and Poland, knew only too well the meagre reputation that Charles possessed among continental powers, owing to his feeble foreign policy and impecunious circumstances. Writing to Lord Wilmot, on August 2, he speaks of the Diet at Ratisbon, and its resolutions with misgivings, at the same time adding "but I know the Imperial Dyatt now assembled doth warrant me to feare, that they will give us nothing that they thinke we have not ye power to take." What could England take, when her sole striking force was in harbour, inactive and perhaps "rotting"? S. P. D., 1630.

In August, 1630, Sir Henry Mervyn was in the Channel with a squadron of eight ships, patrolling the seas and looking out for Dunkirkers. With the exception of Captain Button, who was on the Irish coasts with the 9th and 5th Whelps, this was the only naval force which Charles mustered, to maintain the honour of the flag and his prerogative on the ocean. On the 17th of the same month, Mervyn was ordered to pursue 14 Dunkirkers who were making great spoil, and "was earnestly expected to do some service for the honour of himself and the kingdom." "If my dream come true," wrote Nicholas to Sir Henry, "you will bring home their Admiral."[56] Yet one of Mervyn's best ships, commanded by Captain Plumleigh, had been forced to return to harbour to land its "stinking provisions."[57] And the rest of the fleet was in no condition to do much against the speedy cruisers of the enemy, which ran them "out of sight in one watch." Fortunately for Charles, the Dutch still maintained a merciless contest on the sea with their once formidable masters, but even this was tending to be cut short through the King's unwise measures, much to the disgust of Sir Thomas Roe.

"How unseasonable and impolitic such a proposition!" cries that diplomatist, when he hears that the English ambassador was moving the state to peace with Spain. "We can make no faithful confederacy but in the north, nor recover our own reputation but in the sea, our own element."[58] But Charles had already determined upon peace with Spain, even as far back as July, 1628,[59] and although he demanded a full statement of the Navy in October, and its employment for the year, negotiations

(56) S. P. D., August 17.
(57) Ibidem, August 24.
(58) S. P. Dom., Sept. 20, 1630.
(59) S. P. Dom., July 16, 1628.

went steadily forward for promoting a cessation of hostilities between the two nations. On November 5, articles of peace were drawn up, and the following month the treaty was proclaimed in London.[60]

Though England was now at peace with her two formidable foes, and breathing time was given her to "set her house in order," Richelieu's incessant intrigues and naval preparations were constantly a source of grave anxiety to Charles and his Council. French diplomacy at the Hague and at Munich,[61] Catholic successes in northern Germany, the depredations of pirates round the coasts, all this served to keep the King in anxious suspense, and make him turn his attention more closely to naval affairs. It was necessary to find ships for transporting the troops promised to Gustavus Adolphus,[62] and at the same time the insolences, both of the Turkish cruisers and the Dunkirkers, were demanding speedy chastisement.[63] Yet the squadrons afloat for guarding the coasts and making reprisals were totally inadequate, and such as were patrolling the Narrow Seas were in most cases under-manned and deficient in victuals. Charles by personal encouragement and a

(60) See Lingard's History for details concerning the conditions which included clauses aimed at the Dutch, and which again showed the duplicity which Charles so often liked to exhibit. Spain had well bided her time, and the fleet from Terra Firma containing 11 millions of ducats arrived safely at St. Lucar early in December. See S. P. D., Dec. 18, 1630.

(61) Louis had made, on May 10, a secret treaty with Bavaria. Gardiner and 'Le Mercure de France.'

(62) Charles had promised a large force of 7,000 men under Hamilton, which sailed in July.

(63) In February the Dunkirkers had even captured Sir Henry Vane, Charles' Ambassador to Vienna, and the late gallant defender of Stade, Sir Charles Morgan, who thus lost all their goods by this mishap. S. P. D., Feb. 17, 1631.

praiseworthy activity did his utmost to remedy these defects, and in order to stimulate still further the efforts of the Navy officials, he journeyed to Woolwich in April, 1631, to witness the launching of several new vessels.

"The 21st of April," writes Pett in his diary, "His Majesty with divers of the Lords, Treasurer, Chamberlain, Marquis of Hamilton, Holland, and others, came to Woolwich to see the *Vanguard* launched, which was performed to His Majesty's great content. I entertained them in my lodgings with cake, wine, and other things, that were well accepted. His Majesty commanded me into his barge with him, designing to see the *St. Dennis*, at Deptford, in the dry dock, but the rain preventing him, I was put into a pair of oars. On Friday morning, the *Victory*, lying above the *Vanguard*, was launched out of the same dock."[64]

Meanwhile the preparations on the other side of the Straits of Dover were rousing grave suspicions in the breasts of English politicians. Thirty-four Flemish men-of-war were plying in the Channel, without coming into our ports and roads as they used to," yet the fleet upon which the safety of the kingdom depended was lying inactive in the Downs, "doing just nothing."[65] Pennington, who was in supreme command in the Narrow Seas,[66] and the other captains were chiefly occupied in taking to and from the Continent the various ambassadors and messengers, who at this time were frequently crossing the Channel. Stirring events in Germany and Charles' intrigues with continental powers were occupying the minds of the European cabinets, and the welfare of the Navy was of the utmost importance to those who wished to see English diplomacy seconded by

(64) See Records of Woolwich Dockyard, p. 248.
(65) S. P. D., June 8 and 14, 1631.
(66) His warrant was issued on May 6. S. P. Dom.

a good striking force. In the following June Charles inspected the fleet at Chatham. He and Mansell "went aboard every ship and into almost every room in every ship. There was no office in any ships that His Majesty went not into himself, and into the holds of most of them. He afterwards beheld and counted the ordnance belonging to every vessel, which lay ashore marked and sorted for His Majesty's view. He then went to the Dock at Chatham and visited all the rooms and storehouses there, and saw the making and tarring of the cordage. The Lords Commissioners have got great honour by this Survey."[67]

The King's solicitude concerning his Navy was not exhibited in vain. The French in turn began to be much troubled over the renewed activity in English dockyards, and the preparations for despatching Hamilton and his army to Germany were watched with the utmost concern.[68] Nevertheless, the fine navy which Richelieu's undiminished efforts had created for France,[69] and the Cardinal's cunning artifices, furthered by his skilful agents in England for discovering Charles' plans, were fast exasperating English national pride. On Sept. 20, Captain Plumleigh heard that there were French ships-of-war about the western coast, and grieved from his heart's blood that he was not at liberty "to have a fling at

(67) S. P. Dom., Nicholas to Pennington, June 25, 1631.

(68) Hamilton reached Walgast on August 2. S. P. D., Sept. 2, 1631.

(69) It is interesting to compare the navies of the two nations at this time. England had 40 vessels all told, of which one, the *Prince Royal*, was of 1,200 tons and 55 guns, while 7 others were of more than 500 tons each, and 3 of 700. The French fleet consisted of 43 ships, on the whole somewhat smaller in tonnage than the English vessels, and many of which were still unrigged and unmanned. S. P. D. Vols. 194 and 198.

them."[70] The same expression of feeling came from all the other sturdy captains who were then in the Channel, and their reiterated complaints at last forced the King to give heed to their righteous indignation.

Towards the end of September, Pennington was commended for his diligent proceedings in watching French cruisers, and before the close of the month, he was ordered to the westward "to see that no one presumed to carry the flag in the Narrow Seas," and "to be more zealous because some pretended to have an interest in the sovereignty of these seas."[71] But the gallant sea-dog had only two ships under his command, and he accordingly "hopes that the Lords will not think that two ships half manned are able to encounter with 20 well manned."[72] Yet these brave and hardy seamen, like the knights of old, showed not the slightest fear, however great the odds were against them, and their determination to maintain the proud supremacy of the Narrow Seas for their Sovereign was ever one of the brightest spots in those days of naval negligence and deterioration.

But all Charles' efforts to strengthen the Navy were ineffectual so long as ample funds were not forthcoming, and well did the Dunkirkers profit by the inactivity of the English fleet. Their insolence knew no bounds. "Under the names and colours of Hollanders" they would enter English harbours, and capture Dutch trading vessels even within range of the forts; and the Dutch, too, boastful and arrogant, and confident in the strength which the secret support of France gave them, were insolently bragging of the little concern which the Amboyna affair had in their eyes, and were marvelling

(70) S. P. Dom.

(71) Sept 24 and 29, 1631. S. P. Dom.

(72) Ibidem, Oct. 2, Pennington to Nicholas.

exceedingly that the English could expect to receive satisfaction, when that terrible deed made so little impression upon the States.[73] But no redress was at hand without an efficient navy, and there was nothing to do but follow the counsel of Plumleigh, whose complaints to the Admiralty Lords were ever addressed to deaf ears.

"If the force," he writes to Nicholas, on December 14, "for guard of the coast be no better, those that undertake the charge must resolve to sell themselves at as good a rate as they can, whensoever they shall be pressed by the intention of the French to make good His Majesty's regality in the Narrow Seas."[74]

The year 1632 brought with it little change in naval circles. Charles was busily intriguing with Continental powers, now with Gustavus and the States, now with Spain and France, but the prestige of England was too low to hope for success in any one quarter, and nobody thought the King's alliance worth purchasing. Gustavus, in March, had asked for an English fleet to keep open his communications with Sweden, but Charles had refused his assent, preferring to wait and see the course which events might take in Germany. In March, Pennington was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and with four vessels he patrolled the coasts, watching Louis' naval prepartions and checking the encroachments of French fishermen on the Kentish shores. But Richelieu had no intention of irritating Charles while his own hands were so fully occupied,[75] and he preferred to concentrate

(73) Robert Powlett had been sent to Holland to discuss the Amboyna affair and obtain satisfaction. See S. P. D., Dec. 23, 1631.

(74) S. P. D., 1631.

(75) A commercial treaty had been made in March between the two countries to end any disputes arisen since the treaty of 1629.

his energies upon operations on the Rhine and round Lorraine, rather than set forth a fleet to dispute the command of the seas with the depleted English squadrons. Plumleigh was therefore able to make the French ships in Calais Roads do their duties, though he had to bestow "some powder on them," at which they grumbled exceedingly, especially as a squadron of eight States' men-of-war rode close by, very averse to the English proceedings.[76]

In July, the same officer was sent to the western parts with the *Assurance* and two *Whelps*. News had arrived of the insolences committed by Nutt, a pirate, and several Turkish vessels on the Irish coasts. Plumleigh reached Dublin on August 20, and then sailed in search of the marauders. But they were too swift for the slow-sailing King's ships, and some short time afterwards their numbers had so increased that the tables were turned, and the Royal commander himself became the pursued instead of the pursuer. Such a humiliation the Navy had not experienced within living memory. But this was not all. Wentworth, the Lord Deputy, had sent over a ship-load of equipment which his office required for various purposes. Nutt, ever on the watch, immediately pounced upon his prey and made prize of the whole, greatly to the indignation of the proud and haughty nobleman.[77]

Richelieu was also engaged in a struggle with the Queen Mother's party, and was meditating an attack upon Lorraine. In consequence, he had no desire to arouse English hostility as well.

(76) S. P. D., Plumleigh to Coke. July 6, 1631.

(77) Nutt was the boldest pirate of his time. It was a curious coincidence that Eliot, who was languishing in the Tower, had some years before wished to hang the pirate for his nefarious practices, but the latter had been reprieved. Sir John lived just long enough to know that his policy of old would have spared England much trouble and losses from the pirate's depredations. See Foster's 'Life of Sir John Eliot.' Vol. 1, p. 49.

Notwithstanding this incident which brought such disgrace upon the naval administration, and made Richelieu depreciate still more the value of the English Navy, Charles pursued his tortuous path of secret artifice and dissimulation. All his negotiations with Germany had come to nought. Fair words and courteous attention had been the sole results of the missions of Anstruther and Vane, and though Charles hoped much from Spain, whose enormous losses at sea, coupled with the constant drain upon her resources for Flanders and Germany, had brought her almost to the verge of bankruptcy, all his advances in that quarter proved unavailing.[78]

Early in 1633, complaints by merchants of wrongs done to English traders in France began to occupy the minds of the English ministers, and in spite of the commercial treaty made in March of the preceding year, and the revocation of the letters of reprisal which was announced on June 2,[79] Charles' suspicions of Richelieu began to assume larger proportions. On January 30, the King, accompanied by the Queen, journeyed to Woolwich, and was present at the launching of the *Henrietta Maria*. Another ship, the *Unicorn*, was launched from the same yard in the following month, but the work of Woolwich was very fitful during the whole of the year, and it was only the activity in French ports and the levying of ship-money in 1634, that enabled that shipbuilding centre to recover once more its previous importance.[80]

Nevertheless Charles was continually in great straits

(78) Sir Robert Anstruther had been sent to the Emperor, and Sir Henry Vane to the King of Sweden, but they returned in July, having gained, nothing from their missions. See Gardiner's History.

(79) Tables d'arrêts concernant la marine française. Bib. Nat. Paris.

(80) See Records of Woolwich and District, p. 249.

for want of money. In spite of the various expedients employed for replenishing his exchequer, and of the decrease in the charges of the Navy, the King was continually seeking other means of retrenchment. Further discharges of men from the fleet took place, and in February it was even suggested that two ships were sufficient guard for the Narrow Seas.[81] Yet the French were far from ceasing their efforts to augment their naval power, and in addition to this a profound distrust of the Dutch at sea was slowly but surely gaining ground among the people. Owing probably to French intrigues, the Hollanders were now showing a greater reluctance in the question of the salute at sea, and Captain Ketelby, who had taken Ambassador Weston to Boulogne in the *Bonaventure*, was forced to fire upon a Dutch ship before it would do the requisite homage.[82]

In March, slight hopes were raised that the fleet was to be restored and put to sea. During that and the following month a systematic survey of the Navy took place,[83] and Pennington was appointed to the command of a squadron of five vessels, with instructions to patrol the seas and uphold His Majesty's prerogative as of old.[84] At the same time Plumleigh was despatched to Ireland to scour the seas for pirates and to put himself under Wentworth's directions.[85] Turkish ships were again making their

(81) *Bonaventure* and *Dreadnought*. S. P. D., Feb. 9, 1633. On the 15th the *Victory* and *St. Dennis* were discharged.

(82) The Ambassador himself was on board. This was Jerome Weston, son of the Lord Treasurer. He was afterwards made Earl of Portland.

(83) On March 14, 15, 25, 27, and April 15. S. P. D.

(84) His warrant as Admiral of the Narrow Seas was dated April 15. He had with him the *Charles*, *Henrietta Maria*, *Dreadnought* and two Lion's Whelps, of which the first two were the latest additions to the Navy. S. P. D., April 16, 1633.

(85) His warrant as Admiral of the Irish Seas in the *Antelope*

depredations felt around the coasts, and events on the continent were demanding the utmost attention on the part of Charles and his Council. Dutch insolences, too, in the Channel and elsewhere, were in no way abating, and in June and again in September, the Hollanders had captured Dunkirk vessels quite close in shore, and had not scrupled to show their contempt for the English in the most outrageous fashion.

"Off Yarmouth," wrote the Bailiff of that town to Lord Dorset, "the Holland ships of war, while at anchor before the town, rode with their colours displayed, their ordnance lying out, their drums beating, and their soldiers and companies on their decks."[86]

Yet in spite of Pennington's diligence and care, complaints of the unsafe condition of the sea continued to rise on all sides. Plumleigh bitterly notes that the Biscayners, "under pretence of letters of reprisals from the Spaniard against the Hollander, stop the traffic, and use His Majesty's subjects at their pleasure;"[87] and only a short time before, a Spanish ship-of-war had landed 80 men at Lundy and plundered the island. Yet so pressing was the King's need for money, that Secretary Nicholas wrote to him on the advisability of discharging the squadron under Pennington.[88] No wonder that Charles

was dated April 6. But the *Antelope* is stated to be totally unfit for sea at the end of April, yet it had departed for Ireland before June 12. See S. P. Ireland, and S. P. D., June 12.

(86) S. P. D., June 26, 1633. That same month a Hollander had been fired in Dublin harbour itself by some Biscayners. Respect for the English flag was indeed at a low ebb.

(87) S. P. D., August 5, 1633. On Dec. 21, the Resident of Spain complained that the Dutch had taken 13 ships and 500 men in English ports since May.

(88) S. P. D., August 3. Pennington's ships were victualled to Sept 30. Charles now orders them to be continued at sea two months longer. See Aug. 15.

had suggested, when an English fishing company was formed by Portland and other Roman Catholic friends, that " Spanish ships should be sent to protect the fishery against molestation by the Dutch," who had hitherto, through the supineness of the English, enjoyed a monopoly of that lucrative employment."[89]

Was it supineness on the part of the English maritime traders? Assuredly not, but rather the fear that they could expect no protection from the Royal Navy, without which their attempts at fishing would only produce ruin and disaster. From the same causes the cloth merchants were in a similar predicament. By the treaty of 1610, freedom of trade between France and England had been assured, but the indignities endured by English traders, and the constant infractions of the treaty, had now made commercial intercourse between the two countries both strained and uncertain. Yet Charles' necessities held out little hopes of an amelioration of these disabilities. In October, he ordered Pennington's squadron to come in when the victuals were consumed, which called forth the bitterest criticism from Nicholas, who marvelled that in those stirring times " one or two ships were not continued abroad, when as every day affronts were offered to His Majesty's jurisdiction and his subjects."[90]

But events on the Continent, in 1634, at length forced Charles' hands. The growing power of the Dutch by sea and their secret intrigues with France, the advance of the French towards the Palatinate and their occupation of Lorraine, the development of Richelieu's great creation, the French Navy, and the intense bitterness engendered by the suspicious movements of French ships

(89) Gardiner's History. Vol. II, p. 58.

(90) S. P. D., October 28, 1633.

round the English coasts,[91] all this was now calling for instant action on the part of the Council and the Navy officers. Early in February, Charles was opening negotiations with the Spaniards for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the Dutch, and if possible of forcing them to a peace with Spain. But in order to win over the latter country to his projects, a strong fleet was an absolute necessity, yet without the required funds there was little chance of putting to sea a naval force of any considerable strength. On February 22, a warrant was issued to furnish 24 ships with munition,[92] and Plumleigh was ordered to Ireland to scour the Irish seas for pirates, and put himself once more under the orders of the Lord Deputy.[93] Abuses in the dockyards were rigorously investigated, and the difficulty of getting seamen for the Royal ships was carefully examined.[94]

But an unexpected occurrence on the Continent suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. Wallenstein had been murdered on February 15, and his death opened a way for the Imperialist forces under the Cardinal Infant from Italy to Germany. On April 15, Louis made a secret treaty with Holland, by which he agreed to furnish the States with a regiment of foot and a company of horse,

(91) Portsmouth was being constantly watched by Richelieu's emissaries, and Goodwin, who was in charge of the dockyard, had already been rebuked on several occasions for allowing foreign ships to have too free access to the Harbour. See S. P. D., April 27, 1633, and March 15, 1634.

(92) S. P. Dom., Feb. 22, 1634.

(93) He sailed on April 4, and arrived at Kinsale on the 8th. S. P. Ireland, April 11.

(94) This was usually caused by the want of money. Large numbers of mariners, says Edisbury, who was made Surveyor in December, 1632, "are flocking to Dover and other ports with intent to get over to France or Holland to hire themselves, hearing of great wages offered there." S. P. Dom., March 15, 1631.

which the Dutch were to convey by sea.[95] Charles' negotiations with Spain continued, though without the slightest chance of any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at.[96] And the Dutch were sweeping the seas with a well-equipped squadron under Van Dorp,[97] while the French were also setting out a small force of vessels ready to co-operate with their allies. Small blame to Pennington, indeed, when he complained of the small number of ships under his command, knowing that any minute might bring him into deadly conflict with the fleets of both these nations. It was a trying moment for the sturdy old mariner, for, not content with giving him a squadron of such size, as to cause him the gravest apprehension if he should meet an enemy greatly superior in numbers, the Navy officers had increased his alarm by keeping him waiting for victuals.

"It is a miserable thing," he cries, with an outburst of honest indignation, "that we are not able to victual four poor ships, for three months, under six or seven weeks. The Hollanders will make ready 40 sail, and furnish and victual them in 10 days, and so we might if we took the right course."[98]

Had he but added what was probably in his mind, that

(95) 'Le Mercure de France,' Vol. XX, p. 330.

(96) See Gardiner's History for these complicated negotiations, which were doomed to failure from the very commencement owing to the usual mistrust of Charles, and his impecunious condition. The English fleet was to be an important factor if war eventually broke out, what with the convoying of Spanish vessels to Flanders and the expected attack on Dunkirk.

(97) Pennington (to Nicholas) said that the Dutch had 25 sail of men-of-war. S. P. D., May 8 ; and on June 11, writing to the Admiralty Lords, he remarked that Van Dorp had "20 sail of brave ships, himself in his new ship of 1,000 tons and upwards, wherein he has 56 pieces of brass." S. P. D., 1634.

(98) S. P. D., July 25, 1634.

the right course was for the King to convene a Parliament, and by judicious compromise to obtain subsidies sufficient for Navy purposes, he would have only spoken the thoughts of all right-minded men of the time.

But the recovery of the Navy was nearer at hand than Pennington anticipated. On July 18, Ratisbon was taken by the Imperialists, and in the following month news reached England of the terrible defeat which the Imperialists had given to the Swedes and their allies at Nördlingen in Bavaria.[99] France's opportunity to throw herself openly into the 30 Years' War had come at last. She now asserted her predominance in the Councils of the anti-imperialist party, and took the army of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar into her pay, at the same time garrisoning the fortresses of the Palatinate. This action "confirmed Charles in his preference for a Spanish alliance." In October, the secret articles were despatched to Spain,[100] and on the 10th of that month, writs were issued to the maritime towns, for setting out a fleet to maintain the supremacy of the English flag against the growing power of Richelieu's naval creation.

The King's necessities had driven him to a course which more than any other measure embittered the nation and turned all parties against him. But this step, though fatal in the issue, had saved the Navy. Henceforth, the Royal ships, however inactive they might be, were saved from that ignominious existence which an impecunious government had brought upon them, of lying in harbour, "rotting like fallen colossi," a prey to the vicissitudes of weather and the whims of politicians.

(99) Ibidem, August 27.

(100) See Gardiner's 'Personal Government,' 1635-37, p.p. 79-81, for these articles.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SHIP-MONEY FLEETS.
1634—1641.

The effects of the Battle of Nördlingen on the warfare in Germany were extraordinarily far-reaching and powerful. The successes of the North German Princes were checked and their armies were driven from the southern states. The Emperor's authority became once more supreme on the upper Danube, and in the spring of 1635 Saxony was forced to agree to the Treaty of Prague.[1] Spain's influence at Vienna became greater than ever, and she was now able to turn her attention more particularly to the diplomatic proceedings of Richelieu, which were persistently levelled at the Austro-Spanish power.

That astute statesman was now reaping the reward of his patient labours. The ramifications of his political intrigues had spread into every country of northern Europe. Not daring to break openly with Spain, he had nevertheless long been secretly aiding the enemies of that power, and was now only awaiting the favourable moment for launching a declaration of war against the Austro-Spanish combination. The opportunity was now at hand. The disastrous results of the battle of Nördlingen threw the German princes into the arms of France, and Richelieu, profiting by the advantage thus gained, immediately despatched large forces to the Rhine and occupied several fortresses in the Palatinate. The

(1) Made on May 10/20.

Gründliche Delineation der/den 21. Octobr. 1639. von dem Holländischen Admiral/ Martin Harperts Tromp/ in
Duyns eroberten Spanischen Flotta/ mit angehengtem Bericht auß Holland/ wie es nach beschehenem ersten Angriff von Tag zu Tag dabergangen.
Abelaung der Schiff Flotta bei Duyns.

THE NAVAL FIGHT IN THE DOWNS, OCT. 11—21, 1639.
(From a contemporary Dutch print).

See page 257.

French intervention in the Thirty Years' War had commenced.

But to England, helplessly looking on at the seizure of the strong places in the Palatinate, the French successes were gall and wormwood. Distrust of Richelieu's intentions in the Elector's ancient dominions immediately inclined Charles to listen to Spain's overtures, and the activity in French dockyards, coupled with the treaty which the French Minister had effected with the Dutch in January, 1635,[2] drove the King to attempt what he had already tried unsuccessfully on two previous occasions.[3]

"His Majesty," wrote Sir Thomas Roe to Wentworth, on December 1, 1634, "has directed new writs of an old edition to the ports and maritime counties, to maintain a proportion of shipping for the safeguard of the Narrow Seas *secumdum legem et consuetudinem Angliae*, which is very needful, for the French have prepared a fleet, and challenge a dominion in the seas, where antiently they durst not fish for gurnets without licence."[4]

The fleet at first was to consist of 13 Royal vessels and 8 furnished by London.[5] The latter squadron was ready by December 30, and though the ships had "ports much smaller than the Kings, and iron instead of brass

(2) One of the secret clauses in this treaty was of the greatest importance to England. By it, any attempt to break off the Dutch blockade of Flanders was to be strenuously resisted, and three towns, Dunkirk, Ostend, and Bruges, were to be given up to France. See Gardiner. By the 12th article, France and the States were to keep a force of 15 vessels each on the coast of Flanders till the end of the war. Affaires de France, Angleterre, et Hollande, Ancien Supplement Français p. 113. Bib. Nat. Paris.

(3) See p. 126 and p. 137.

(4) S. P. Domestic. For the dispute concerning the legality of ship-money, see Gardiner's History.

(5) S. P. D., vol. 276, 64.

ordnance," yet they were "ships of good countenance."[6] On March 17, 1635, orders were issued to raise the number of Royal ships to fifteen, and 4,000 men were to be pressed and sent to Portsmouth. Before the end of the same month the officers in command had been appointed, and by April 17 the King had expressed his intention of still further increasing the fleet to "26 good ships, to make good his just title by freeing his ports and seas from such disturbances, to secure the free trade both of his subjects and allies, and to reduce his dominion upon the British seas to the ancient style and lustre."[7] Another squadron of 10 ships was also ordered to be victualled and set forth for three months,[8] and the two fleets thus prepared formed a naval force than which no more powerful squadron had yet issued forth from English ports. Charles could indeed regard with pride the success which had crowned his efforts in the imposition of ship-money, however questionable might be the legality of the measure.

On April 20, the French King ordered 15 ships to be armed for keeping the seas, and to rendezvous at Brest till another squadron of vessels joined them from Holland.[9] On the 27th of the same month another small fleet of French vessels was fitted out, ostensibly to act

(6) S. P. D., Dec. 30, 1634.

(7) Coke to Fleming, King's agent at Zurich, April 17, 1635. S. P. Dom.

(8) S. P. Dom., May 9, 1635.

(9) See Richelieu's minute. Fonds Baluze, Bib. Nat. Paris. The fleet was specially instructed to fraternize with the English, but to attack the Spaniards when profit could be got. The great weakness in this fleet was the order that the two Admirals, de Manty and des Goutes, were to command alternately the squadron, three months at a time each.

against pirates in the Mediterranean,[10] and simultaneously with the equipping of these naval forces, five French armies, amounting in the aggregate to no less than 150,000 men,[11] took the field against Spain. War was declared on May 9th between France and the Austro-Spanish power, and Richelieu's plans for carrying on the work of Henry IV. of France were now ripe for execution.

One thing alone disturbed the Cardinal's mind—the English fleet. Though strong in the Dutch support, Richelieu knew full well that only by the inactivity or neutrality of Charles could he hope to blockade effectually the coasts of Flanders, and thus close the open route of communications between Spain and the Low Countries. Not without reason, therefore, was issued his order to the French admirals to avoid embroiling themselves with England, and to conduct themselves in such a way as to prevent a rupture between the two states.[12] For the squadrons which Charles was now setting forth were splendidly equipped, and were in every way capable of maintaining the English claim to supremacy in the Channel. Towards the end of May the Ship-Money fleet began its cruise to the westward, fully prepared to

(10) See De Grammont's 'Relations entre la France et la Régence d' Alger au XVII siècle.'

(11) 'Le Mercure de France,' and 'Abrégé, Archives des affaires étrangères,' V. 70, 37.

(12) On June 16/26, Richelieu writes to the French Admiral, de Manty, "His Majesty wishes you to avoid as much as possible any rupture with the English, which order would be difficult to carry out in the Channel owing to the right of saluting the flag, their fleet having now left port in greater force than the ships under your command." The cunning statesman, however, got over the difficulty. In the Channel the French were to fly no flags, and remain under Dutch command. At other times they were to cruise about in the Bay of Biscay, and so avoid the Channel.

uphold the dignity of the nation, and enforce the homage which for so long Englishmen had insisted upon in the Channel. To keep the seas open to free trade, and to allow no fighting in the presence of His Majesty's ships in the Narrow Seas, were also among the instructions issued to the Admiral.[13]

Now began a will-o'-the wisp pursuit which Richelieu's astuteness prevented from developing into more serious operations. On June 6, the great fleet, now swollen to more than 40 vessels, under Robert, Earl of Lindsey, who had as his Vice and Rear Admirals, Sir William Monson and Sir John Pennington, sailed down the Channel to seek the fleet of French men-of-war, which was thought to be leaving Brest some 30 or 40 in number in order to co-operate with a Dutch squadron.[14] But each time that the fleet was fondly hoping to have arrived within striking distance, the news came that the French had appeared elsewhere. In the middle of June Lindsey was windbound off the Isle of Wight. On the 20th of that month he was at Dartmouth, where rumours of 53 French vessels at sea had been circulating.[15] The following day found the English fleet at Plymouth, but no enemy hovered in sight, and the vain pursuit commenced once more. On the 28th the Admiral had reached the Lizard, but his quest proved fruitless, and only served to irritate Charles and his Council, who had

(13) The fleet finally consisted of 45 vessels,—19 Royal ships, and 26 merchantmen. Clowes' 'History of Royal Navy.'

(14) S. P. Dom. Lindsey to Lords of the Admiralty, June 6, 1635.

(15) De Manty, the French Admiral, had written to the Mayor of Weymouth, to allay the fears of the inhabitants and to express his intention of respecting everything belonging to the English King. S. P. Dom., June 20 and 23. See also the 'Journal of someone in the Constant Reformation.'

by this time become exceedingly annoyed at Lindsey's seeming inaction, and did not scruple to express aloud their dissatisfaction.

"The report is common," wrote Coke to the Admiral, "that the French have forced some of our merchants to strike sail unto them, and that the French and Dutch conjoined have visited our merchants' ships, an act of direct pretence to equal power in our seas, which your Lordship must not endure."[16]

Whatever faults Charles possessed, and however great were his failings with regard to naval administration, no one can deny his stedfast resolve to brook no rival power in the Narrow Seas. Towards the end of June, the French King made proposals with reference to the salute of the flag, and even condescended to listen to any reasonable proposition from England on the matter "for peace sake and continuation of good intelligence between the two crowns." But on this point Charles remained obdurate, and refused even to allow his ministers to discuss his right to the dominion of the seas.[17]

On leaving the Lizard, Lindsey received intelligence of a French naval force preparing in Brest, and of a second fleet of 17 ships off Land's End, but after scouring the Channel in search of these, he failed to come up with a single French or Dutch man-of-war, and early in August he was reluctantly compelled to come into port to revictual.

"They so watch their times," he wrote in August to the King, intensely exasperated by the French tactics,

(16) S. P. Dom., June 25.

(17) S. P. D., July 2. Coke to De Vic, King's agent in Paris. See also Richelieu's letters of April 20/30, and May 27/June 6, to Charnac (Charnassé). State Letters, and Gardiner's 'Personal Government.' Vol. II, p. 101.

"as to avoid him with the same winds that he strives to meet with them."[18]

After taking in victuals the Admiral once more sailed westward, but during the latter part of August he patrolled the Channel without sighting either French or Dutch vessels. The sagacious Prime Minister of France had no intention of risking any rupture with so powerful a fleet. His own operations on land had not been crowned as yet with the success anticipated,[19] and he was too much occupied with his Spanish wars to venture upon giving offence to Charles and so adding England to the number of his open enemies.[20]

After lying in the Downs for more than a month in restless inactivity, Lindsey, early in October, laid down his command, and Pennington was ordered to keep the Narrow Seas with seven ships.[21] The first great ship-money fleet had thus finished its cruise, and although it had had no occasion for even firing one shot in anger, its object was in part achieved. Charles had maintained complete supremacy in the Channel, the Dutch had continued to acknowledge his prerogative, though with the greatest reluctance, and Spanish communications with Flanders had not been interrupted in consequence of the presence of the English fleet in the Channel. The

(18) Lindsey to Charles, S. P. Dom., Aug. 2 ,1635.

(19) The French attack upon the Spanish Netherlands had turned out an utter failure, and their secret aims against Dunkirk were thus entirely frustrated.

(20) In September the Spaniards had taken the isles of Lérins (situated on the French coast near Nice). Richelieu, in consequence, was forced to despatch a naval force thither, which thus denuded France of ships in the Channel, and made the Cardinal more than ever desirous of avoiding a rupture with Charles.

(21) At first, 8 ships were ordered to be set forth. S. P. D., Sept. 28 and 30. These were afterwards reduced by one vessel. S. P. D., Oct. 11.

EQ:TIS AVRATI
EFFIGIES GENEROSISS:
ET FORTISS: MILITIS
IOHANNIS PENINGTO
The true portracture of that Famous & Valliant Sea Capt:
S:r IOHN PENINGTON Knight, one of the Gentlemen in Ordinarey of his
privie Chamber Gouernor & Capitaine of Sandowne Castle in Kent and
Vice Admirall of his Ma:tie Fleete for this expedic:on Ao 1636 &c

Photo :] *[Donald Macbeth, London.*

SIR JOHN PENNINGTON, VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, 1636-7.

French, too, in spite of their artifice for avoiding an ignominious acknowledgment of the English claim to the salute, had not dared to come within striking distance of Charles' formidable squadrons, and their naval inferiority had been tacitly recognised even by Richelieu himself.[22]

So elated was Charles by the apparent success of the imposition of ship-money, that he took the bolder step, in 1636, of demanding the same from the inland counties, in order to provide funds for equipping another fleet for the guard of the Narrow Seas. This time the ships were, if possible, to present a still more imposing appearance. On November 16, writs were issued for setting forth a fleet of 45 vessels, and in the following month orders were given to prepare 24 ships for 6 months, and another squadron of 10 ships to reinforce the former in case of necessity.[23]

During the early months of 1636 the ship-money was slowly but surely coming in from the counties. Though the defects in the fleet were exceedingly numerous, and though the Navy officials thought it impossible to get the ships ready even by April, the work of restoration and repairs was hurriedly pushed on. On March 21, the Earl of Northumberland received his commission as Admiral, with Pennington as his second in command, and on the

(22) Although the French and Dutch combined had mustered more than 30 ships, Richelieu was so convinced of the inferiority of his fleet that he begs Oxenstiern (Oxenstjerna) to persuade Sweden to lend him some Swedish vessels, to which proposal the latter found that his country was well disposed to listen. The Cardinal, too, was forced to send his best ships to Lérins. See Richelieu's State Letters, vol. 5. (In manuscript).

(23) The ships were to be ready by March, at a charge of £218,000 and with 8,750 men on board. Dec. (undated) 1635, and Jan. 1, 1636. S. P. D. But in Feb. (V. 536-13, S. P. Dom.) an estimate for 24 ships and pinnaces, with 10 ships as a reinforcement, was issued for £123,788 only.

20th of the following month a powerful fleet of 24 sail[24] left the Downs and bore towards the west. News of a French fleet of 40 to 50 vessels at Ré had reached England, and Northumberland was ordered to watch its movements. The depredations of Turkish pirates on English shipping had also been engaging the attention of the Council, and the fleet's instructions required the Admiral to consider the advisability of ending these piratical excesses.[25]

On May 28, the fleet reached Plymouth, after meeting off Portland a squadron of 8 Dutch sail, to which Northumberland gave chase, but without being able to come up with them, for "they are so well built and fitted for sailing that the Earl can never come near when they have a mind to avoid, unless by chance."[26] In the last week of June, the Admiral received intelligence that the French fleet was expected at Dunkirk, and that 20 ships and some frigates were preparing at Amsterdam to join it. Clapping on all sail he immediately bore up the Channel, but on his arrival in the Downs he found that the information was false.[27] The fleet then took a northerly course

(24) 27, says Clowes' 'History of the Royal Navy,' but this is scarcely correct, as Carteret was left in the Downs with the *Entrance*, 2nd and 4th Whelps, and three others. Yet these first three are included in the above list of 27 ships. S. P. Dom., May 22, 1636.

(25) These Turkish pirates had once more been making themselves dreaded in the seas round the British Isles. On Sept. 20, fears were expressed concerning the Newfoundland fleet, owing to 20 Turkish sail being thereabouts, lying in wait. Two ships were reported, on Oct. 15, to have been taken on their return voyage from Terra del Fuego. "Navigation is so dangerous on account of these Turks, that one dare hardly go so far as Rochelle or Bordeaux, the French, it is said, giving them shelter in their harbours." Letter from Guernsey, S. P. Dom., Vol. 535, 109.

(26) S. P. D., May 30. Northumberland to Admiralty Lords.

(27) Monson, in his Naval Tracts, criticises this very adversely,

and steered for Scotland and the Shetlands, "much to the alarm of the Dutch, who immediately sent over an envoy to Charles thinking that their fishing fleet was threatened with destruction."[28]

Northumberland reached the fishing grounds of the Dutch busses early in August, and though a squadron of ten men-of-war rode close by, and another fleet of 20 sail under Admiral Dorp arrived later on, he compelled the fishermen to pay for their rights and to take out licences, without the slightest molestation on the part of the Dutch commanders. No sooner was this effected, than the Admiral received news of the lamentable state to which the merchants were being reduced owing to the depredations of the Turkish pirates.

"It is feared," wrote Sir Nicholas Slaning, on September 20, to Secretary Coke, "if the Turks be suffered long to continue, they will disable the English from any trade hereafter."[29]

Northumberland immediately sailed southward, but on

both as to the information and the instant credence being given to it, and also to the lack of experience shown by Northumberland in thinking that Dunkirk could be in any danger from the sea, owing to the sandy shore and flat coast. Monson, however, did not live to hear of its capture by Condé, supported by the Dutch fleet under Tromp.

(28) Joachimi was sent over "in all haste." S. P. D. ,Aug. 19, 1636.

(29) S. P. D., Sept. 20, 1636. Slaning or Slanning (1606-43) was Governor of Pendennis Castle. These piratical inroads had greatly increased in consequence of the understanding brought about in January, 1636, between Algiers and France. See S. P. D., Jan. 24. But one can scarcely wonder at the French making this league. Between 1629 and 1634 they had lost 80 vessels, 1,331 sailors, and goods valued at over four million livres. Several squadrons had been sent against the pirates without success, and now France wants all her vessels for use against Spain. See de Grammont's 'France and Algiers.'

arriving at the Downs, he received orders to discharge several ships and to hand over eight vessels to Sir Henry Mervyn to be continued as guard in the Narrow Seas. The second Ship-Money fleet had finished its mission, but the results of the operations had been of little practical value. Its presence in the Channel had doubtless prevented the French from co-operating with the Dutch in an attack upon the Low Countries, and had at the same time allowed Spain to keep open her communications with Flanders. But the enforcement of a few licences upon an unwilling number of foreign fishermen, was scarcely ample compensation for the money spent in equipping the fleet, and the exasperation aroused among the Dutch by the incident took many years to subside.

Nothing daunted by these resultless operations, Charles determined to repeat his measure of the preceding year, and on October 9, the third writ of ship-money was issued. It was the death-blow to the hopes of the young Prince Elector, who had been vainly trying to urge his uncle to send him with an army to the Palatinate. "His Majesty," wrote Archbishop Laud, in October, to Elizabeth of Bohemia, "being resolved to make himself strong at sea, which is a thing of great expense, cannot possibly charge himself with a land army so far off,"[30] and the nephew once more bitterly regretted the trust that he had so implicitly put in his uncle's apparent firmness of purpose.

To Charles, a strong fleet was an urgent necessity, if only to influence the negotiations which at this time he was carrying on with France.[31] Richelieu eagerly desired

(30) S. P. D., Oct. 13, 1636. Charles, however, allowed his nephew annually £18,000.

(31) Arundel's mission to Germany had failed, and Leicester was now negotiating with Richelieu for joint action in favour of the Palatinate.

some sort of understanding with England in order to utilise her fleet, but Charles' conditions, and his continual duplicity, always hindered progress in any amicable diplomatic dealings between the two states.

Early in January, 1637, estimates were issued for a fleet of even greater proportions than those of the previous years, and on the 15th of the month the Admiralty Lords were ordered to prepare no less than 55 ships.[32] To give an appearance of legality to the imposition of ship-money, Charles addressed a letter to the judges on February 2, demanding their verdict on the important question, and fully confident beforehand of the favourable issue which he was certain of obtaining, the King went down to Woolwich, accompanied by the Prince Elector[33] and divers Lords, to view the new ship[34] which Pett was building. The noble proportions of the vessel pleased the company exceedingly, and Charles returned to London, in time to receive the affirmative reply of the judges on the question of the ship-money, and resolutely determined to persist in his course of action which, however beneficial to the Navy, was gradually forcing the nation to the verge of revolution.

During the spring of 1637, Charles was negotiating a league with France for the restitution of the Palatinate and an attack upon the Austro-Spanish power. England was to keep a large fleet in the Channel to prey upon

(32) These consisted of 34 ships for 8 months, to be ready by April 20. Also 15 others to reinforce the main fleet, and 6 ships for the Sallee Expedition, which had been determined upon during the winter of 1636. S. P. D., Jan. 15, 1637.

(33) Eldest son of the King's sister, and now Elector Palatine. His father had died in 1632.

(34) The 'Sovereign of the Seas.' It was launched in the September following.

Spanish commerce. She also promised to put a squadron of 14 ships[35] under the orders of the young Elector Palatine, in addition to allowing France to raise levies in England for service on the Continent. But Richelieu's contempt for Charles' want of statesmanship, and his knowledge of the King's weak financial position, made all unity between the nations impossible. The signing of the treaty was put off for a season, and Charles, irritated beyond measure by the Cardinal's procrastination, turned to Spain. But even here the King received no encouragement though listened to with studied politeness, and as a last resort he addressed himself to the Dutch, hoping to persuade the fishermen to receive his licences and put themselves under his protection. But they had too great a suspicion of Charles, and one and all questioned his ability to protect them from Dunkirk cruisers. The negotiations in consequence came to nothing, and Charles was now in the awkward position of preparing a powerful naval squadron[36] without knowing in what direction to employ it.

In June, Northumberland assumed command of the fleet, but there was little work to be done. To take an ambassador to Dieppe or escort the Elector Palatine to Holland, in addition to attempting pursuit after French merchantmen of Calais which always proved too fast for the heavy sailing vessels under the Earl's command, was scarcely a performance calculated to bring credit upon a nobleman's escutcheon or the dignity of a nation. In July, the Admiral's attempt to force licences upon the Dutch fishermen proved a total failure. On August 1, Northumberland was ordered to ply round the coasts, to

(35) S. P. D., March 1, 1637.

(36) It consisted of 19 Royal ships and 9 merchantmen. S. P. D., April, 1638.

send ships to Salee,[37] if necessary, and to succour any French and Dutch vessels molested by Dunkirkers.[38] But this aimless patrolling of the seas wearied the Admiral beyond measure. For want of employment he was ordered to ply to the westward during the early part of August, yet in the eastern part of the Channel English barks were being insulted by the Dutch with impunity, so anxious was Charles to give them no cause for annoyance.

"For dealing with the Dutch," said the hesitating monarch, whose "large designs were followed by paltry performances," and whose "irritating interference with the habits and opinions of his subjects led to no result worthy of the effort," "is to be done cautiously, with special care that nothing be done in prejudice of His Majesty's friendship with the Hollanders, especially in this present conjuncture."[39]

It was a thankless work that Northumberland had in hand, and cheerfully did he give up the command of the fleet in September when the order was issued for the ships to come in. Nothing had been effected by this demonstration of naval force, and in spite of the great armament, Richelieu refused to budge one step from his resolve to submit no further to an acknowledgment of

(37) To reinforce the ships there under Captain Rainsborough, the *Roebuck* and *Mary Rose* were ultimately despatched in July, reaching Sallee Road on August 12. A fleet of 6 vessels had been sent to Sallee on the Mediterranean coast, to set free some English captives, and if possible to teach the pirates there a lesson. The expedition set sail in March, 1637, but after some slight operations, which resulted in the release of more than 300 captives, the fleet returned in September without effecting anything else of note. See 'Journal of Sally Fleet,' and 'Journal of Capt. Rainsborough.'

(38) S. P. Dom., Aug. 1, 1637.

(39) Windebank to Capt. R. Fogg. S. P. D., Aug. 10, 1637.

the English pretensions to supremacy in the Narrow Seas.[40]

During the winter months six ships alone were kept at sea for patrolling the Channel, yet in November Louis had laid on English vessels in French ports an embargo, which was only raised towards the end of December owing to the report that a large Spanish naval force was at sea, with troops on board destined for Flanders.[41] Bitterly did Richelieu now regret his refusal to come to an agreement with Charles. Spain landed her 4,000 men safely at Dunkirk, and in addition to this some 400 to 700 chests of silver. The Plate fleet, too, had arrived with 15 millions of silver on board,[42] and the Spanish monarchy felt itself once more in a position to press on vigorously the war in Germany and the naval operations in the Mediterranean.

During the spring of 1638 Pennington was in charge of the Narrow Seas. His chief duty was to watch the Spanish preparations in Dunkirk, where was assembled a fleet of no less than 32 vessels, "little and great, all new-trimmed and tallowed, ready to come out, part of them being to carry two regiments of Irish soldiers and Reformado captains for Spain, to be sent in a great fleet making ready for Brazil."[43] In March, Northumberland

(40) See his letters to Bellièvre during the latter's embassy, 1637-40, Bib. Nat. Paris. The ambassador was ordered to cross the Channel in an English or Dutch boat in order to avoid submitting to the King's "imaginary sovereignty of the sea," as Richelieu calls it.

(41) S. P. D., Dec. 4.

(42) S. P. D., Dec. 11.

(43) S. P. D., Feb. 6 and 20, 1638. The Spaniards were preparing a great expedition for Brazil. Count Maurice of Nassau had sailed thither in October, 1636, with 30 ships and 3,000 soldiers, arriving in January, 1637. His successes were now giving Spain much concern. See 'Relation du Père Placide de Brémond.' Note p. 31.

was appointed Lord High Admiral "during the King's pleasure," and a fleet of 22 ships and 7 merchantmen was ordered to be set forth.[44] Charles lent his personal encouragement to the work of the Navy officials, and in June, and again in July, he made a minute inspection of the *Sovereign of the Seas*, a magnificent vessel of some 1,500 tons burden, which was the latest addition to the fleet. But all his efforts on behalf of the Navy did little towards increasing his influence on the Continent. His intrigues with France and Spain had only tended to cover him with ridicule, and to lower still further English prestige abroad. Yet in spite of his continental ill-success, he increased his difficulties even more by embroiling himself with Scotland over ecclesiastical affairs, of which Richelieu took full advantage, and during the whole period of the trouble between Charles and his Scotch subjects, the Cardinal did his utmost to encourage the northern kingdom in its hostility to England. But he had no desire as yet to break with England, for he himself was now engaged upon a difficult undertaking, which necessitated the utmost diplomatic skill together with large forces both by land and sea.[45] In December, the proceedings in Scotland had reached their acutest stage, and the hostility evinced for Charles' measures was so pronounced that nothing could avert the civil war to which both countries were tending. The Marquis of Hamilton, High Commissioner for Scotland, who had been despatched thither to deal with the Covenanters, utterly failed to cope with the growing discontent, and towards the close of the year he writes

(44) S. P. D. According to Clowes, he was acting as substitute for the Duke of York. Two more ships were added in May—*Mary Rose* and *First Whelp*.

(45) Richelieu was just about to undertake the siege of Fontarabie.

to Charles "that the only way to reduce the kingdom to obedience is to send a fleet to the Firth of Forth, block up trade, and then follow with a Royal army."

Charles needed no second warning. On January 23, 1639, orders were issued to set forth 18 ships. In the following month the important question of choosing the officers was considered. The occasion was serious, and everyone knew full well that the political crisis had reached a most critical stage.

"I desire a little of your advice herein," wrote Thomas Smith to Captain (now Sir John) Pennington, "as being a business of great consideration, for now sea-captains must not expect to play as they have done heretofore, but must look for such times of action as will require commanders of skill, courage, and fidelity."[46]

The large numbers of men pressed for service in Scotland put the southern ports in great alarm, but little notice was taken of this, and in March, Pennington received orders to go with 8 ships to Scotland, taking Sir Henry Mainwaring as his Vice-Admiral.[47] The following month found the Admiral at Harwich where Hamilton and 5,000 troops were awaiting him. Pennington escorted this force to the Firth of Forth which was reached on May 2. The arrival of the Royal fleet filled the Covenanters with consternation. They could laugh at the feeble force which Charles was bringing with him by way of Newcastle, but the fleet was always a source of grave anxiety, by reason of its speedy movements and of the ease with which it could destroy commerce. Pennington well explains this in a letter to Captain Carteret of the *Leopard*.

"We have done very great service," he writes, "by

(46) Feb. 21, 1639. S. P. D. Pennington was knighted in 1634

(47) S. P. D., March 20.

making a diversion, for the Scots durst not draw any men from these parts, but have been forced to keep continual guards, both night and day, on both sides of the Firth, for fear we should land and burn their towns; and besides we have so blocked them up by sea, that they cannot stir in or out, but we snap them, which does infinitely perplex and trouble them more than all the King's army."[48]

In order to continue more effectually the blockade, two vessels were sent "to watch Scotland on the one side," as Pennington was doing on the other. Wentworth adds some other small ships to these, with orders "to lie between the north parts of Scotland and Ireland."[49] But the compromise effected between Charles and the Covenanters in June held out hopes of peace, and Pennington was despatched south to the Downs, in order to check the insolence of the Dutch who had seized some English ships carrying Spanish troops to Flanders. Charles' indignation at this outrage was intense, and the Admiral was instantly ordered to cruise to the westward, "to preserve His Majesty's sovereignty at sea, which by our remissness has been of late so much encroached upon by our neighbours."[50] Pennington accordingly bore down the Channel, though not before he had offered some advice, which he inwardly recognised to be useless in the case of an obstinate nature such as his Royal master possessed.

"Nevertheless," he writes to Windebank, "before we seek reparation of that which is so ill resented, it

(48) S. P. D., May 22, 1639. Carteret was at the time in the Downs. Pennington was on board the *Rainbow*, in Leith Roads.

(49) The two vessels were the *Dreadnought* and *Grey Hound*, sent by Capt. Povey from the Downs on the 26th of May. S. P. D., June 3.

(50) Northumberland to Windebank. S. P. D., July 16.

behoves us to have a mastering strength for fear of a greater loss and dishonour, for they (the Hollanders) are very strong here in the Narrow Seas at present."[51]

And to oppose the large fleet which the Dutch kept in the Channel, he had but four vessels, with a possibility of three more being added shortly afterwards.[52]

It was a moment fraught with grave possibilities. In answer to Charles' indignation at the high-handed action on the part of the Dutch, came a letter to the French ambassador from Louis, with orders to offer remonstrances to the English Government for allowing Spanish troops to be carried in English vessels. But Richelieu was too much occupied in watching the Spanish fleet off the Groyne to make further representations, and for the time being his one great object was to persuade the Dutch Admiral to attack the Spaniards before they got out to sea. In this he failed for the present, but an incident in September, which tended to embroil England with both French and Dutch, effected the desired object.

On the 3rd of that month, eight English ships, carrying 1,800 Spanish soldiers on board, arrived at Plymouth. This was part of a huge fleet of 70 ships which had left the Groyne under Admiral Ocquendo during the last week of August, and which had been watched since June by the French naval force under de Sourdis. The Spanish fleet bore up the Channel on the 6th, and on the following day it was attacked off Dungeness by a

(51) S. P. D., July 13.

(52) Luckily for England, the French fleet under de Sourdis had sailed for the Spanish coasts towards the end of May, to watch the Spanish men-of-war. La Cour Gayet's 'La marine militaire,' p.p. 101-2.

Photo:] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

THE FIGHT OFF THE KENTISH COAST, OCT. 11–21, 1639

(From a Dutch print.)

Dutch squadron under Tromp,[53] and forced to take shelter in the Downs. For a whole month there presented itself the weird spectacle of three fleets facing each other under the strangest of circumstances. As far as England was concerned, never had she felt more urgently the necessity of a strong naval squadron at sea. The Spaniards numbered some 60 vessels, the Dutch by continual reinforcements had reached almost 100 sail, and the English mustered but a dozen ships all told, so feeble a squadron, in fact, that if the Admiral's few ships were sufficient to give the Spaniards a good chance against the Dutch, well and good, otherwise, he was "to make as handsome a retreat" as he could "in so unlucky a business."[54] Such were Pennington's instructions from the Lord High Admiral. Yet the week before he had received orders very differently expressed.

"If either of these two great fleets," ran his previous instructions, "should presume to attempt anything here in the King's Chamber, contrary to the laws and customs of nations and to the dishonour of our King and kingdom, you are to fall upon the assailants and do your best to take, sink, and destroy them."[55]

Bitter indeed was the pill which the navy captains had to swallow, thus placed at the mercy of a weak and pusillanimous government. But amid all the confusion which administrative weakness produced, one feature

(53) Dorp, the Dutch Vice-Admiral, had met the Spaniards at the entrance to the Channel, and after a running fight had joined his squadron to Tromp's. The combined fleets then attacked the Spanish vessels.

(54) S. P. D., Oct. 8, 1639. Campbell gives Pennington's fleet as of 34 sail, which is obviously inaccurate. Even with the 10 vessels supposed to be coming to him as a reinforcement, the Admiral's force would have been well under 30 ships. See S. P. D., July 17. Pennington to Windebank.

(55) S. P. D., Sept. 23.

always stood out in pleasant contrast. Whatever were the odds that our naval heroes had to face, they never showed the slightest trace of fear, and they were at all times ready to meet the foe, however overwhelming might be his naval forces. Had Pennington's squadron been obliged to enter into the struggle, it is very doubtful, even though justified by the small force at his disposal, if he would have followed the instructions of making "a handsome retreat." His indignation and conduct in 1625 over the question of the loan ships amply demonstrate the contrary.

On October 11, matters were brought to a head. A shot from a Spanish ship gave Tromp the long desired excuse for attacking his foes, and the Dutch during a heavy fog closed with the Spanish vessels, sinking several ships and forcing some twenty others ashore. The rest of the fleet escaped to Dunkirk, including the Admiral's flagship.

Charles was highly incensed over this outrage, but he was powerless to offer any remonstrance otherwise than by words, and England was thus forced to suffer a gross insult to her maritime prestige, without being able to make any effective rejoinder.[56]

(56) For a good account of this affair, see Gardiner's 'History of Charles' Personal Government.' Charles was once more trying to intrigue with both France and Spain, but he succeeded in merely overreaching himself instead. From Spain he hoped to receive £150,000 as the price of his aid ; from France, the restitution of the Palatinate when peace was concluded in Germany. For letters on this, see also 'Affaires de France, Angleterre et Hollande,' in the Bib. Nat. Paris. Had the ten ships which were on their way to join Pennington's squadron reached him, Charles would, in all probability, have played his cards more openly. See S. P. D., Oct. 13. But the secret intrigue over this affair had been so complicated that it is difficult to conjecture what the outcome might have been. Rumours even were abroad that the Spanish fleet was really intended for an invasion of England.

In November writs were again issued for Ship-money, and Northumberland was ordered to set forth a fleet for the ensuing year. Dutch and French operations off Dunkirk required constant watching, and the Prince of Orange was guaranteeing 30 to 40 vessels to France as a safeguard against any succours that might be sent to aid the Dunkirkers,[57] a precaution very necessary while Spanish cruisers were plying to and fro, yet a sly hint withal to England that her interference would not be passed over in silence.[58] But Charles was in no state to offer much opposition to any continental nation. He had enough, and more than enough to do, in order to extricate himself from the difficulties with which his obstinacy and Laud's high-handed measures had surrounded him.

Early in February, 1640, estimates were drawn up for setting out 20 ships, and measures were taken for despatching by sea a force of 5,000 men to the North. In May, a few Royal ships were cruising off the Northumberland coasts and in the Firth of Forth, intercepting all Scottish vessels and lending their aid to the defenders of Edinburgh Castle, which was besieged by the Covenanters. Before the end of June the Scots had lost at least 40 ships, which so exasperated the nation that an invasion of England was threatened if a restoration of the prizes did not take place. But Charles was in too great need for money to give up any ship that might put a few pounds into his exchequer. So reduced was he in circumstances, that he seized the bullion in the Tower belonging to the merchants, and borrowed £40,000 from those of

(57) See Richelieu's letters, Vol. VI, p. 659. Bib. Nat. Paris.

(58) Charles had again been intriguing with Spain early in 1640, but little came of it, as Spain was in no condition herself to support the King either with men or money, and the state of affairs in England was only too well known by the Spanish government to justify their sending the King any assistance.

their body "concerned in the Mint." He then ordered 12 ships, on August 26, to transport victuals to the Firth of Forth, but the capture of Edinburgh Castle and the town of Newcastle caused him to divert these vessels to Hull[59]. Nevertheless, in spite of the captures made at sea, the Royal Navy did little during the autumn of 1640 to improve the King's affairs. Scottish vessels were continually evading the few cruisers plying off the northern coasts, and in September the forces under Leslie had received large quantities of corn from the Continent, enough to last them for six months.

Charles' case thus became almost hopeless. The army which he had collected had no heart for the struggle, and after the ignominous flight at Newburn, the King saw the futility of the task before him. Nor was it otherwise with the fleet. "It seems," wrote Sir P. Drummond, to the Clerk Registrar[60] of Scotland, "the King's ships do little good upon the coast of Scotland. It will be more credit to His Majesty to recall his ships than suffer them to remain there to be laughed at as they are."[61] And proof of this was apparent on all sides. Scottish vessels easily eluded pursuit by the slow-sailing Royal ships, and despite the captures made in the spring, the commerce between Scotland and Göttenburg during the past year had been the greatest ever known.[62]

To try and reduce Scotland was quite out of the question, unless a powerful army and fleet could be raised. For this end money was necessary, but none was forthcoming. Charles at length saw the utter absurdity of continuing a course, which simply held him up to ridicule and was fast endangering the very existence of

(59) S. P. D., Sept. 2, 1640.
(60) Sir James Hay.
(61) S. P. D., Oct. 3, 1640.
(62) Windebank to Northumberland. S. P. D., Oct. 13.

The Portraits allowe of the High and Mighty Prince, CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Photo:] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

CHARLES I. (From a Dutch print, 1639).

the Monarchy itself. In October, he yielded to the inevitable with the best grace possible, and convened a Parliament. On the third of November, 1640, the historic Long Parliament assembled, and the King's personal government came to an end.

During the months that elapsed between the opening of the Long Parliament and the outbreak of the Civil War, the few ships under Pennington in the Channel were not called upon for much active service. Parliament was too busily engaged in reforming the abuses of the reign and impeaching unpopular ministers to give much personal attention to the fleet. Yet Calais sloops of war were annoying English commerce, and the merchants were bitterly complaining of the enormous losses caused by these speedy craft.

"These Calais sloops," wrote Captain Robert Slingsby to Northumberland, "come daily and nightly into the Downs and keep us in continual vigilance, lest they should take some out of the road in the night. Their insolences are so great that if they continue a little longer in the concert of impunity, I think they will shortly presume to rifle villages on the shore, since already they make no distinction between English laden with free goods and strangers with ammunition."[63]

But Richelieu had no desire to embroil himself with England, and Pennington was able to turn his energies against "Turks and other picaroons" who were infesting the Channel. By the middle of June, 1641, the Admiral had his entire naval force concentrated in the Downs,[64]

(63) S. P. D., April 26, 1641.

(64) S. P. D., May 20. In the Navy Lists of 1641 the fleet is put down as consisting of 16 Royal ships and 16 merchantmen. Two ships and 8 merchantmen were also added for Ireland. But in S. P. D., Nov. 11, only the *Entrance*, *Providence*, *Bonaventure*, and *Swallow* (merchantman) are mentioned as nominated for the Irish Seas.

and with this goodly squadron of upwards of 30 vessels he faithfully carried out the instructions which Northumberland had issued in the preceding month.

Towards the end of November, news came from Ireland announcing the civil war that was raging there, and earnest solicitations were made for the despatch of ships to those parts. A small squadron was instantly sent off, and Pennington, who was in command of the winter guard of four vessels,[65] was ordered to watch for Spanish frigates which, it was said, were bound for Ireland, carrying rebels thence. In February, 1642, the winter squadron was greatly increased. Rumours were abroad that the French had laid an embargo on English ships and goods in their ports, and the Danes were assuming a threatening attitude.[66] Six ships in all had been sent to Ireland to prevent the importation of foreign munition and succours, but the King's prospects there had become exceedingly gloomy.[67] Nevertheless, the presence of the Royal vessels had a salutary effect upon the coast towns, and were instrumental in facilitating the landing of 2,000 foot and 400 horse at Youghal.[68]

During the summer of 1642, the tension between Charles and his Parliament had become too great to hold out any hopes of amicable adjustment. The King had now offended almost every party in the kingdom, and in July he lost the last support among those who were bound to him as part of the national forces constituting the State politic. In June, Northumberland had been dismissed from his office of Lord High Admiral

(65) Of two of these, however, one was on the Dutch coast, and the other watching Dunkirk. S. P. D., Jan. 4, 1642.

(66) Feb. 3, 1642. S. P. D.

(67) In March only Kinsale, Cork, and Youghal, out of all Munster, held out for Charles. S. P. D., March 6.

(68) S. P. D., March 10, 1642.

for nominating Warwick to supersede Pennington in command of the fleet. Parliament upheld Northumberland's choice. Warwick won over the captains to support the Houses in their decision, and Parliament, who had taken the King's attempt to win over the navy and get possession of a magazine in Leicestershire as a declaration of war, appointed a Committee of Safety.[69]

" With the loss of the fleet, the King lost all chance of foreign aid, as no nation would risk its forces at sea, to be captured by the Parliament's ships, and even the supplies of money and arms, which his too zealous Queen was enabled to procure in Holland and France by the sale or pledging of the Crown jewels, could not be conveyed in safety to the parties by whom they were needed."[70]

The hearts of the " water-rats " were[71] indeed estranged from the King's party. The only wonder is that they had maintained for so long their allegiance to a monarch, whose whole life and acts had been a series of arbitrary oppressive measures and underhand practices. The disasters of Ré and Cadiz, " the national honour tarnished by subserviency," the irregularities in payments to the sailors, and the abject " slavery " to which the naval service had reduced the mariner's lot during the earlier years of the reign, all this was now remembered and laid at the King's door, and Parliament was thus enabled to gain an ally of the greatest importance during the terrible strife that devastated England for half a decade.

In April, Sir John Hotham had refused Charles' entrance into Hull. Before the end of July the Navy had been won over to Parliament, and Hotham had succeeded

(69) Gardiner's History.

(70) Hamilton. Preface to S. P. D., 1648-9.

(71) During the proceedings concerning the arrest of the five members, Charles is reported to have uttered the words : " How is it that I have lost the hearts of those water-rats ? "

in providing himself with provisions by sea. That same month Charles made another attempt to enter Hull, but without success. Irritated by this rebuff, and exasperated by the determined attitude of the Houses which had called upon their members to stand or fall by Essex, the King raised his standard at Nottingham on the twenty-second of August.

The Civil War had now begun, and Charles' success depended solely upon his land operations. The Navy which would have given him the principal coast fortresses was no longer his to command. Parliament, in winning it over, had gained a decisive advantage in the coming strife, and in the ensuing operations, especially towards the end of the war, the Navy was destined to play a prominent part, both by hindering and intercepting aid and supplies from the Continent, but more particularly by co-operating with the land forces in besieging or relieving the maritime towns.

NOBILISS: D: ROBERTUS RICHIUS COMES WARWICKIÆ DOMINUS RICHIUS D'LEEZE.
The Right Honourable Robert Rich
Earle of Warwicke and lord Rich of Leeze.
Admirall & Comander in Cheife of the late Fleete.

Photo:] [*Donald Macbeth, London.*

ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER X.

THE NAVY DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

1642—1649.

When Charles had finally resolved to submit the dispute between himself and the Parliament to the arbitrament of armed force, his narrow outlook on the true state of affairs had made him fondly imagine that upon "one order of men," at any rate, he could confidently depend. Though the imposition of ship-money had exasperated almost all classes, especially in the inland shires, the more regular payments which the King, since 1634, had been enabled to grant to the fleet, and the increase in the wages of the sailors "above the old establishment of the Navy" which he had effected, gave him every hope that this important arm of the national service, and with that the absolute control of the coast fortresses, was entirely at his disposal.

Never was monarch destined to see his expectations more cruelly shattered. His own wavering disposition, and the symptoms of disunion which his immediate advisers at this time were exhibiting, only too well indicated the route upon which the Royalists were about to proceed. While Charles hesitated, Parliament acted. The extreme state to which the English party in Ireland was reduced, made it imperative that no succours of any kind should reach the rebel forces there. Denmark, too, was causing the Parliament much anxiety, owing to the incessant intrigues of Charles with the King of that country, and Henrietta Maria was known to be doing her utmost in Holland to rouse up sympathy and support for

her royal husband's cause. The eagerness with which all eyes at Westminster were directed towards the Downs showed with startling significance the gravity of the outlook, and it can be said, without fear of denial, that the key of the situation lay with the fleet, which, under Warwick's command, was watching restlessly the trend of political affairs. If Parliament won over the Navy, a great access of strength would immediately be at her side to give additional aid to her undisciplined forces on land, and, above all, to prevent succours from reaching the King from outside states ; and at the same time it would render invaluable assistance to London by sea, if fate should bring the Royalist forces to besiege the city. But should Charles gain the hearts of the seamen, the Parliamentary cause would almost be hopeless. Without any army fit to cope with the men of rank and quality, who, though without discipline, inspired the King's forces with their own courage and resolution ; without the command of the sea, which alone could hinder reinforcements from coming to Charles from the Continent, where the very name of Parliament was odious and distasteful, and where sympathy would naturally incline to the King, especially in the two kingdoms of France and Denmark to which he was so nearly related ; with faction rife in the city, and without funds for entering upon a struggle against the traditional system which had become an integral part of the constitution, and which almost made a divinity of the kingly power in many thousands of minds, Parliament had good cause for directing immediate attention to the " bulwark " of the nation, and for realizing the potent influence which the Navy could exert.

It was but a question of a few days, perhaps only of a few hours, which was to decide the ultimate possession of the fleet. The King had dismissed the Earl of Northumberland from the post of Lord High Admiral on June 28,

1642,[1] and the same day he signed a warrant appointing Sir John Pennington to the chief command of the navy.[2] But owing to Charles' own dilatory proceedings, and to Pennington's want of alacrity in going to the Downs and taking over the fleet from Warwick, Parliament gained the first move in the deadly struggle which was about to commence. On July 2, Warwick received his appointment as Lord High Admiral from the two Houses, and within a few hours of the arrival of the warrant, he had summoned the fleet captains to his flagship, where, with but five exceptions, they all swore obedience to the new order of things.[3]

(1) Report of Hist. Manuscript Commission. See also Dict. of Nat. Biography. Northumberland had deeply offended Charles by appointing the Earl of Warwick Admiral of the fleet.

(2) Letters signed by the King were also addressed to each officer in command of the vessels, and a warrant was sent to Phineas Pett at Deptford declaring Pennington's appointment. Hist. Man. Commission, 5th Report.

(3) At no time did Charles show less discernment than in this question of such exceptional importance. On June 28, he signed the warrants for the dismissal of Northumberland and the appointment of Pennington. The former received his on the 30th; the latter, instead of letting a speedy messenger take it to the fleet, carried it himself, but arrived too late in the Downs, either owing to his apprehension of ill-treatment at the hands of Parliament, or because he wished Sir Henry Palmer to join him, and lend him his aid by his well-known influence over the sailors. Northumberland in the meantime had announced his own dismissal to Parliament. The latter immediately sent down to Warwick, notifying his appointment to the chief command, and the fleet, which had now received notice of Warwick's discharge by the King's warrant, and was awaiting Pennington, was soon won over by the Earl to the side of the Parliament without any difficulty. Only five captains refused obedience to the Houses, Sir John Mennes, Captains Fogg, Burley, Slingsby, and Wake, and these were immediately superseded. Another fatal step taken by Charles in this incident was his order to restrain Captain Carteret, who had been appointed second in command to Warwick, and who was

Charles' slowness of action, and the hesitation on the part of his counsellors, especially Sir John Pennington, had lost the King one of the most potent factors in the coming struggle. Little did he realise the importance of the fleet at that time. Yet his own wife and uncle were making ready to aid him with funds and troops, to carry which to England made it imperative that the open route of communications by sea should be won and strictly maintained. Parliament now possessed a striking force, whose utility and influence in the course of the civil strife were over and over again proved with unerring certainty, but whose operations were so little remarked in comparison with the greater events on land, that their importance has been almost entirely neglected by historians.

"Yet it is not too much to assert," says a modern writer, "that the strategy of the struggle was largely determined by the fact that Parliament had command of the sea, and was thus able to sustain the resistance of Gloucester, Plymouth, and Hull, three ports in the heart of Royalist country and vitally important to the prosecution of the King's plan."[4]

Warwick, on assuming the command of the fleet,

well inclined to the King, from holding the Vice-Admiral's post. He was succeeded by Batten, a man of very different inclinations, and the King thus lost a faithful supporter who might have succeeded in preserving some of the fleet for the Cavalier side. See Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion.'

(4) Marriott, 'Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland.' Gardiner, History of England, says that "during the years immediately following this appointment of Warwick, the action of the Navy was for the most part purely national, as between the King and the Parliament it remained to a great extent neutral; but it resolutely prevented foreign interference, and readily obeyed the orders of Parliament to prevent the bringing over of soldiers, money, ordnance, and other ammunition from beyond the seas, to assist the King against the Parliament of England."

immediately began to show his zeal in carrying out the orders of Parliament. His total force consisted of 32 ships, of which 16 were merchantmen. Rumours had already been circulating that a large fleet of Danish ships was daily expected on the English coasts,[5] and instructions were accordingly given to search for these, and at the same time to watch for ships taking succours to Ireland or bringing help to Charles from Holland. On July 9, orders were issued for a part of the fleet to take a force of 500 soldiers to Hull, to aid Sir John Hotham in his strenuous efforts against the Royalist forces, and so opportune was the arrival of this reinforcement that Charles was compelled to raise the siege of that important port. During the remainder of July and throughout the whole of August, the fleet steadily pursued its course of safeguarding Parliament's interests on the English coasts. By intercepting ships carrying letters to Cavalier leaders, by taking two vessels carrying bullion and gunpowder, together with some Newcastle ships containing ammunition destined for Royalist districts,[6] by the capture, at the hands of Captain Swanley in the *Charles*, of all the castles in the Isle of Wight, which were thought to be inclined to the King's side, by these and such like acts did Warwick and his captains do good service for the Parliament during the fateful year which saw the opening skirmishes of the Civil War.

On August 9, Warwick sent five ships to Portsmouth,

(5) In "Collection of Phamphlets" for 1642, B. Museum, reference is made to 50 Danish ships defeated by Warwick with 21 vessels on June 9th. But the information on this point is very scanty.

(6) On August 12, mention is made of two ships coming from the Queen, being chased, and one containing £300,000 being captured by Warwick with three ships of the Royal Navy. The other escaped. This is probably the one stated in S. P. Dom, Aug. 9, to have arrived in the Tees, carrying arms and ammunition.

which surrendered to Sir William Waller on the seventh of the following month.[7] Meanwhile the King's party had been by no means idle. Though somewhat depressed by the seizure of two Royal ships upon which she had relied "to escort across the North Sea a little fleet laden with munitions of war," the Queen was redoubling her efforts in Holland, and in September several vessels reached the port of Newcastle in spite of Warwick's unceasing watchfulness.[8] In October, the Admiral was replaced by Batten, who signified his arrival in the Downs on October 19 by displacing certain captains of doubtful attachment to the Parliament.[9] Such a drastic course was necessary, for the King had now commenced his march to London, and grave apprehensions were felt in the two Houses on account of the unrest in the city and the rumoured preparations beyond the North Sea. Towards the end of October, the fleet, divided into three squadrons, bore down Channel on hearing a report that 28 French and Dutch ships were cruising off Portland. But though none of these appeared in sight, Batten was in no wise inactive. On November 7, a ship carrying arms to Ireland for 1,000 men was captured, and on the following day another was seized, taking letters to Sir Ralph Hopton from Colonel Goring.[10]

(7) Gardiner.

(8) Newcastle had been taken by the Earl of Newcastle for the King, and was almost the only port in Cavalier hands now Portsmouth had fallen. These two ships were under the command of Captains Ketelby and Stradling. The crews had refused to act against the Parliament, and steadily determined to go and join Warwick in the Downs.

(9) Warwick had been appointed Captain-general of a second army raised by Parliament to supplement the forces under the Earl of Essex.

(10) Collection of Pamphlets, B. Museum. Hopton commanded

Disquieting news from Holland now reached London. It was rumoured that the eastern ports were in danger, and reports from the Hague spoke of large naval forces being gathered to attack Parliamentary vessels. The restless Henrietta Maria was only awaiting a favourable moment for embarking, and the English representative at the Hague[11] sent word in all haste to Pym, advising that means be adopted for preventing her passage.

"I beseech you therefore be careful," wrote the latter, on November 9, to the Leader of the Commons, "that a good fleet be at sea when the Queen goes over, which they say will be this day sevennight if Knowles and Skipworth come over. She has eight ships by the States, and is angry she has no more. I shall endeavour that their ships may not have orders to conduct men or to fight with ours."[12]

In the meantime, the King's affairs about Cornwall had been making such rapid progress, that the merchants there were sending up bitter complaints to London owing to their losses at sea at the hands of Cavalier adherents. Lancashire, too, was clamouring for four small ships to do special service in the Irish Sea.[13] But more pressing

the King's forces in the west, and Goring had been governor of Portsmouth for Charles during the early months of the Civil War.

(11) Walter Strickland.

(12) Strickland to Pym. Hist. Man. Commission. Bouverie manuscripts. A small vessel, the *Ralph*, had arrived from Newcastle on the Queen's service, but was gone again before Strickland had time to interfere. No doubt the envoy was successful in his measures for insuring the neutrality of the States, for Tromp did not interfere with Batten, when the latter was trying to prevent the Queen's landing at Bridlington in February of the following year.

(13) The Navy Commissioners in consequence ordered 4 ships for this purpose to be part of the fleet for the summer of 1643. S. P Dom., Feb. 4, 1643.

dangers elsewhere demanded the presence of Warwick,[14] who had again resumed command, and his fleet. Early in 1643, Captain Swanley was despatched to the Welsh coasts owing to reports of a disquieting nature coming from those parts, and by his vigorous measures he succeeded in taking possession of Milford Haven and in beating "12 ships away from thence laden with base and bloody Irish rebels to have 'bin' landed there and for Westchester, and both by sea and by land obtained divers brave and famous victories in South Wales, and was honoured by Parliament with the 'guift' of a chain of gold of £200 value in way of the Parliament's thankfulness for his many brave services."[15]

While Swanley was thus reaping the reward of his services in the west, Batten was likewise doing good work on the Yorkshire coasts. The Queen, after a rough and stormy crossing from Holland, reached Bridlington with four ships carrying arms and munition of war for the King. No sooner had she landed than Batten appeared with four Parliament vessels, which immediately opened fire on the Queen's small squadron, many of the shot reaching even the house in which Charles' royal consort had passed the night. But the fall of the tide made Batten draw off, and Henrietta Maria was able to meet the King without further mishap.[16] Charles' indignation was intense when he heard of the Queen's narrow escape,

(14) The Admiral resigned his command of the land forces in November on the resolution of the Houses to keep but one army in the field. See Warwick (Rich.) Dict. Nat. Biography.

(15) 'England's Worthies,' p. 11. Swanley was in command of the *Bonaventure*, and had captured the '*Fellowship*' of 28 guns in Milford Haven.

(16) See Clarendon's History for an account of this. Most probably Tromp, who had escorted the Queen, gave Batten strong hints that he would not brook further firing, but Strickland's skilful work at the Hague was doubtless bearing fruit at this time.

and bitterly did he regret the estrangement of "the water rats," whom his own short-sighted policy had refused to conciliate. Now, at last, he could grasp the value of an efficient navy and the influence it could exert over his fortunes, and in the negotiations which ensued, early in 1643, between the Parliament and himself, one of his most important demands was "that the ships which had been sent out to defend the realm might be placed under officers named by himself." The two Houses, needless to say, unanimously refused such a proposition, and their next step showed their fixed determination to maintain control of the fleet, for several other vessels were instantly despatched to reinforce Warwick's squadron.

During the summer of 1643 the Navy had few opportunities of striking any blow of importance for the Parliament. In May, Warwick was cruising off the eastern coast, after leaving the Downs on the 19th for Holland and quitting the Dutch coast two days afterwards.[17] On the 24th the fleet was before Tynemouth, where it took two barks carrying corn to Newcastle. Thence it cruised off Berwick, and captured Holy Island early in June.

Meanwhile reports of a most unfavourable nature were arriving from Ireland. The inactivity of the ships on the Irish coasts was giving the greatest displeasure to the authorities in Dublin, who were continually deploring the lack of energy which the squadron was displaying.

"None of the ships," wrote the Lords Justices, in June, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, "intended to guard the Irish coasts attend to the harbour here, and the

(17) The ceaseless intrigues of Charles with Denmark compelled Warwick's fleet to patrol the North Sea with the utmost diligence. Not without reason was Parliament's anxiety, for the King had consented to cede Orkney and Shetland to the Danish monarch in return for aid from Denmark.

passage between this and England, but ships are daily chased by pirates even at the mouth of the harbour, while the ships intended to guard the coast so interfere with these which would bring provisions, that all men are discouraged from adventuring, and the army is ready to starve."[18]

And as if to give further proof of the unwatchfulness of the Parliament squadron in the Irish Seas, information was received, five days after the above letter was written, that two ships of Irish rebels had landed at Chester without any molestation whatever on the part of the Admiral's cruisers.[19]

In Devon and Cornwall, where the Royalists under Hopton and Grenville were making rapid progress, the same complaints were repeatedly being uttered. A squadron of six men-of-war under Capt. Moulton was indeed cruising in the Channel, but in spite of this, Parliamentary influence in the west was fast being undermined. In July, Bristol fell, and within a month of its surrender, and notwithstanding Warwick's attempt to bring relief from the sea, Exeter yielded to the victorious forces of Prince Maurice. Only Plymouth, Lyme, and Dartmouth[20] remained in the hands of the Parliament, and unless these were aided effectively from the sea, they stood a good chance of experiencing the fate of Exeter. But the want of funds was at this time sadly embarrassing the efforts of the two Houses to send sufficient supplies to both army

(18) Hist. Man. Commission. June 10, 1643.

(19) Sir W. Brereton to Speaker Lenthall, June 15. But it must be noted that the few ships forming the King's small sea force were beginning to pick up prizes round the coasts, and especially provision ships sent off to Ireland.

(20) These, however, would almost be impregnable while Warwick commanded the sea, for they were not, like Bristol and Exeter, situated some distance inland.

and navy, and the state of the latter service can be well understood from a letter of Captain Swanley to the Governor of Portsmouth.

"Never hath ship," he wrote, "been sent to sea, as we have, nor used worse than we are, for we have had stinking beef and pork, and also stinking beer a great part of this voyage, and unless such a business had been purposely intended, a man would have scarce imagined that a ship should be so badly fitted with necessaries as we have been."[21]

But in spite of these obstacles which grievously impeded the efforts of the naval force, the Parliament ships were lending their aid at various points on the coast with considerable effect. In October, Captain Rainsborough in the *Lyon*, relieved Hull, but was unfortunately taken prisoner in attempting to drive away the besiegers at the head of a gallant landing force of 1,000 of his sailors.[22] Nevertheless, the reverses which the Parliamentary forces had experienced during 1643 only made the two Houses the more determined to resist with greater vigour, and towards the end of the year orders were issued to prepare no less than 42 ships for the ensuing summer. The Winter Guard was hurriedly set forth to sea, but not in time to save Dartmouth, which had been taken by Prince Maurice in October. Evil news, too, was received from the Channel Isles, where Captain Carteret had landed in Jersey and taken possession of the island in Charles' name. So black was the outlook in Parliamentary circles owing to the lack of funds, that an ordinance of November 30 was issued, allowing private ships to be equipped

(21) Hist. Man. Commission. Welbeck Manuscripts, Sept. 27, 1643. The ship was the *Charles*, under Captain Steevens.

(22) Robert Burton to Sir T. Barrington, Hist. Man. Commn., Oct. 29, 1643.

for capturing all vessels hostile to the Parliament.[23] Charles was highly indignant at this measure, and immediately appointing the Earl of Marlborough Admiral of the small Royalist squadron at sea, he ordered him to set forth as many ships as possible at Dartmouth, equipped from loans to be obtained from the merchants there.[24] Henceforth, this Devonshire port became the headquarters of the Cavalier party in the south-west.

Parliament had thus failed to maintain effective co-operation with its land forces in the west, and Dartmouth in Royalist hands conclusively proved to her the fatal mistake of not utilizing the navy to better advantage. Charles now possessed on the southern coasts a port corresponding to Newcastle in the northern shires, and an effective base of operations through which he could receive supplies from abroad, and keep open his communications both with the Channel Isles and Ireland, and with his land forces in the west.[25]

The close of 1643 saw the high water mark of the Royalist success. Newcastle's advance in the north and Hopton's in the south-west had driven the Parliamentarians upon the eastern and south-eastern counties, and London was daily in a state of apprehension that the approach of the united Cavalier forces might at any moment be announced. But two seaports, Plymouth and Hull, saved them from such a disaster, and Charles had the mortification of seeing what the alienation of the "water-rats" had brought upon him. Whilst the open route by water was in the hands of the Parliament, all attempts to storm these two ports were doomed to failure, and the

(23) S. P. D. Nov. 30., 1643.

(24) Hist. Man. Commn. 15th Report.

(25) On Dec. 27, Nicholas had already written to Rowe that large quantities of "arms and powder are arrived for His Majesty." S. P. D. 1643.

time wasted by Newcastle round the walls of Hull, gave sufficient breathing space to the eastern countries to recruit their forces, and to commence that onward progress which ultimately led to Marston Moor and Naseby.

In 1644, the two Houses resolved to strengthen the forces at sea, which, owing to difficulties in raising funds, had been allowed to deteriorate. In February, news had been brought to London of the naval activity at Dartmouth, where ships were being prepared to prey upon all vessels inclining to the Parliament,[26] and Marlborough had already crossed to Jersey with a small squadron to urge Carteret to co-operate with him in an attack upon Guernsey.[27] Warwick was therefore required to expose the state of the Navy to Parliament, and the Admiral immediately demanded no less than 50 ships and 6,000 men "for the necessary guard of His Majesty's dominions and the serving of trade." Such a fleet was absolutely essential owing to the number of points on the coast which required strictly watching, and the extent of the sea-board made it impossible to prevent hostile cruisers from escaping the Parliamentary vessels. Warwick's proposition was not unheeded, and Parliament quickly took measures for setting out no less than 56 ships, in addition to 25 other vessels put to sea, "by way of reprisall, and victualled at the charge of the State, according to the ordinance of the 30th of November last."[28] There was no denying the fixed determination of the two Houses to render the fleet efficient, and well did

(26) Hist. Man. Commn. (Welbeck), Feb., 1644. Information of Miles Causton, Master of the 'George.'

(27) Hist. Man. Commn: 2nd Report. Journal et recueil des choses les plus remarquables en l'isle de Jersey: Jean Cavalier. Not a man, however, would stir to help Marlborough, who left Jersey in great disgust.

(28) See Navy Lists. B. Museum.

the results justify their resolution. In the spring Captain Jordan beat a small squadron under Marlborough and took four ships. A number of vessels were despatched to the Scottish coasts to facilitate the victualling of the army under the Earl of Leven.[29] Another small squadron was sent to lie off the Irish coasts, and the *Mary Rose* with a small merchantman succoured the town of Poole, where "the sight of these two ships begat new life in our almost tired soldiers."[30] In May, both Yarmouth and Carnarvon were taken, and a number of vessels were ordered to cruise off Weymouth, at which port the Queen was expected to arrive prior to her departure for France. Warwick sent a small force to Jersey in June to press on the siege of Castle Cornet, and that same month the glad tidings reached London that Weymouth was being hard pressed by Sir William Balfour. Well and truly had the fleet justified the hopes which its newly-restored state had raised.

Meanwhile Warwick, whose untiring energy entitled him to the highest praise, was undertaking the relief of Lyme,[31] which was sorely distressed by the Royalists under Prince Maurice. Despatching Batten in advance with a small squadron,[32] the Lord High Admiral reached the town on the 23rd of May[33] with the remaining ships under his command. On his arrival he found the "little vile fishing town" in great want of victuals and ammunition, yet full of grim determination to hold out to the bitter end.

"Their condition and courage," he wrote in his letter

(29) The 'Alexander Leslie' of the Bishops' War.

(30) Collection of Pamphlets.

(31) He had already previously sent the *Mary Rose*, *Expedition*, *Mayflower*, and the *Anne and Joyce* to give assistance.

(32) The Bonaventure, Dreadnought, and Warwick frigate.

(33) Collection of Pamphlets. C. 59.

to the Speaker of the House of Peers, "had such operation on the seamen of my ship, that they did unanimously consent to give them a greater part of their next month's bread, and to abate it proportionately out of every day's allowance, yet with hope that the State would make it good again. They did also out of their own little abilities spare them divers pairs of boots, shoes, 'shockings,' clothes and some victuals, saved out of their former allowance."[34]

On the 12th of June the Admiral furnished the town with ten barrels of powder, and at the request of the townspeople he consented to 300 men of the fleet taking part in the defence of the fortifications. His co-operation with the garrison proved too much for the gallant but discouraged force under Maurice.

"On the 13th," wrote Warwick to the Houses, "upon desire from the Council of War in Lyme, I resolved to send the boats and small vessels[35] here to give an alarm in the east part of Lyme, for distracting of the enemy, and drawing him off from the town, which was yesterday put in execution accordingly, the seamen landing and marching up on to the country, which caused the horse and foot that came down to attend them to fly to the hills, and gave the seamen opportunity to converse with many of the country people."

The manœuvre was crowned with success, and after another brave but futile attack upon the town, Prince Maurice drew off his troops and hurriedly retreated from the little fishing town, whose capture had been thought but a question of hours, and which had cost the King hundreds of brave followers besides an enormous loss in prestige.[36]

(34) May 30, 1644. Collection of Pamphlets.
(35) The vessels were the *Expedition* and *Warwick*.
(36) The siege was raised on June 15.

Warwick, who had thus once more demonstrated the potent influence of the naval arm upon land operations, left Lyme on the 19th for Weymouth, but only to find that town already in the hands of the Parliamentary general. While in these parts he addressed a letter to the Navy Commissioners on the exigencies of the moment.

"The occasions of the kingdom," he said, "call for a constant attendance of ships on the west coasts. I desire provisions put on board the ships short may be sent to Portsmouth so that the ships may not go too far out of their way. Weymouth being secured, I shall hasten westward to assist in getting in the ports that yet stand out. Meanwhile ships attend the places of most danger, so I hope God will give much blessing to our endeavours, especially considering my Lord General's army being in the western parts."[37]

Warwick was right in expressing anxiety about Essex' army, and it was his constant hope that the land forces would not remain too far from the sea, and that the navy would be in a condition to keep it well victualled. In July, the Admiral purposed to sail westward, in order to assist the ships plying there and to prevent supplies from going to the enemy's ports.[38] Hearing that the Queen was at Falmouth, he despatched Batten with three good ships[39] to frustrate any attempt she might make to escape to France. But all vigilance proved of no avail, for his prey had already eluded him. Henrietta Maria had left Falmouth on July 14, and although her ship was

(37) Warwick to Commissioners of Navy, June 22, 1644. S P. D.

(38) S. P. Dom., July 5, 1644. Warwick to Committee of Two Kingdoms.

(39) The *Reformation*, *Paramour*, and *Warwick*. See S. P. D. July 17.

fired upon by a Parliament vessel, she reached Brest in safety two days afterwards.[40]

Little could Warwick be blamed for the Queen's escape. So many calls were made upon the fleet under his command, that on July 17 his ship was the sole vessel left in Tor Bay to assist the "several services and the army as occasion should require."[41] Yet relief was urgently needed on the Welsh coast, and unless money was forthcoming the armed merchant ships plying in the Irish Seas would speedily come in, thus leaving those parts open to the King's cruisers and enabling reinforcements from Ireland to come to his aid. With all their great naval display early in the year, Parliament found even that insufficient to meet the exigencies of the time, as the trusty but obstinate Essex, who, during the months of July and August had been traversing the western districts closely pursued by the Royalist forces, found to his cost; for the enemy "commanded the hilly country on the landside, while the sea shut the Parliamentarians in on the other side, whence they looked in vain for the Lord Admiral's fleet, the wind being contrary."[42] Cruel fate once more dogged Warwick's steps, and this time it was the weather. Contrary winds kept him completely inactive off the Devonshire coast, and before he was in a condition to send succours, Essex' army was no longer in existence. On the last day of August the

(40) Gardiner. Vol. II, p. 8. The Queen was accompanied by a squadron of 10 ships, which, Warwick thought, "intended to relieve Guernsey."

(41) Warwick's letters to the Committee of Two Kingdoms. S. P. D. July 17, 1644. In this epistle the Admiral said that he only had eight ships to dispose of, and of these, three had been sent to Falmouth under Batten, the *Dreadnought* and *Mary Rose* were watching Dartmouth, the *Providence* was sent to Salcombe, and the *Hind* and *Nichodemus* were at Topsham.

(42) Hamilton's Preface to State Papers Domestic, 1644.

Parliamentary forces in the west were forced to surrender, and Essex was hastening, a fugitive, towards Plymouth.

On September 17, Charles with a large force appeared before Plymouth. But though Batten, who rode in the Sound, had but few ships with him, and even these were in danger of being recalled owing to the want of victuals, the King decided to leave Grenville to blockade the port, while he himself hurried away north. But the cry for provisions was continually neutralizing the efforts of the fleet, and the reiterated solicitations of the Governor of Plymouth that the ships should be victualled in order to uphold the spirits of the garrison, were left unheeded. Parliament, however, could scarcely find even the funds necessary for the maintenance of the land forces. On October 29, Warwick writes to the Speaker[43] of the Commons, that it is scarcely possible to set forth even the few ships necessary for the winter guard, and that much time is wasted, owing to the long interval elapsing before the replacing of the summer fleet by the winter squadron. Hence, he adds, "the guard of the sea is neglected, the enemy's ports opened, trade endangered, and the convoy of some of our own ships transferred to the Hollanders."[44]

Such was the condition of the Navy at the close of 1644. Warwick did his best to rectify much that was wrong, but his efforts were always counterbalanced by the want of money. On January 31, 1645, he called the attention of

(43) Lenthall.

(44) Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Papers, Oct. 29, 1644. Yet even that was better than hostility on the part of the States, for it was only their neutrality that prevented Charles from obtaining valuable help from the Continent, where Mazarin was trying to persuade the Duke of Lorraine to help the King, and the Prince of Orange was only restrained from lending his aid, through the refusal of the States General to grant him a fleet for transporting troops to England.

the two Houses to this disastrous state of affairs, which only a judicious distribution of large sums could ameliorate. No less than 57 ships had been ordered to be set forth, but by February 20, only five of these were in a sufficiently advanced state to be sent to the relief of Weymouth,[45] which at that time was being besieged by the King's forces.

With the spring of 1645, several changes took place in both Royalist and Parliamentary navies. By the death of Sir John Pennington,[46] the King lost one of his most faithful servants and a naval officer of great experience. His post of King's Vice-Admiral was given to Sir John Mennes.[47] On the side of the Parliament Warwick resigned his command of the fleet, and was succeeded by Batten, who assumed the title of Vice-Admiral.[48] On the Irish coasts Sir Robert Moulton superseded Swanley.[49] The office of Lord High Admiral was put into commission, and on April 19, six noblemen and twelve commoners were entrusted with the duties of that post.[50] The Self-Denying Ordinance had done its work. It now remained to be seen what results the drastic alterations effected by Parliament were to bring about. Before the summer fleet put out to sea, the few Parliament vessels on the coasts

(45) Weymouth had been surprised by the Royalists under Sir Lewis Dyves, but it was again recovered, chiefly through the instrumentality of Batten and his small squadron. Gardiner. Vol. II. p. 719.

(46) Clowes: Hist. of Royal Navy. Brit. Dict. of Nat. Biog. says he died in Sept., 1646.

(47) He had left the fleet in 1642, when Parliament sent Warwick down to assume command in the Downs. See p. 267.

(48) By the Self-Denying Ordinance, Warwick, Essex, and several others were debarred from holding commands in the Army or Navy, but the second "did not, like the first, permanently exclude from office." Gardiner.

(49) In July.

(50) Gardiner.

showed great vigilance and activity in their search for Royalist cruisers. In March, two ships carrying munition from France were taken, followed by the capture of other two ships by Batten, who also relieved Melcombe Regis at that time besieged by Goring.[51]

Meanwhile news was received from the Continent of renewed intrigues between Royalist leaders and foreign Governments. But no outside interference ensued, and the baffled Cavaliers found themselves foiled in their efforts to induce France to send succours to Charles.[52] Mazarin, the French Minister, had listened sympathetically to the King's emissaries, and had even persuaded the Duke of Lorraine to consent to head a large force destined for the English shores.[53] But the Parliament's fleet barred the way to all intervention, and the project was ultimately relinquished. Holland had need of its large naval force for counteracting Denmark's designs upon the Sound, and to all the entreaties of Charles' agents she turned a deaf ear.[54] The influence of the

(51) Navy Lists, etc.

(52) In Dunkirk attempts were being made to find vessels. "I am in treaty with our townsmen for 20 frigates to serve His Majesty," wrote J. Clarke to Lord Digby. S. P. D. March 25, 1645. Four frigates ultimately did sail from Dunkirk under Capt. John Van Haesdonck, with large quantities of munition and arms on board. One of these reached Dartmouth on May 8, the other three landed their cargo at Pendennis Castle. S. P. D. May 9/19, 1645.

(53) See Hamilton's Preface to S. P. Dom. 1644-5; also Gardiner, Vol. II. p. 172.

(54) Doctor Stephen Goffe, writing to Lord Jermyn from the Hague, speaks of 60 men-of-war and 6,000 foot going against Denmark. And Jermyn, in his letter to Digby from Paris, says that France was inclined to join with Holland on behalf of Charles, but "the only reason why they here are so little disposed to it is the apprehension of the Parliament's ships, believing that to be the only power able to trouble them in their designs." S. P. Dom., April 14/24, and April 25/May 5, 1645.

fleet had again been exerted with crowning results, and the Committee of Both Kingdoms could write to the alarmed inhabitants of Norfolk with reassuring confidence, that no apprehensions need be felt concerning any hostile marine force at sea, when once the summer fleet had put out from port.[55] Their words proved true, and during the summer and autumn months the work required from the navy did not necessitate any operations of much importance. In July, Batten was instructed to intercept the forces which, it was rumoured, the King intended transporting from Wales to Somersetshire.[56] In the following month the Vice-Admiral from Milford sent one ship with three small barks, to take up a force of 600 soldiers left by Fairfax at Bridgewater and convey them to Pembroke. Whilst at Milford, he co-operated with the land force in an attack upon Haverford-west, and sent the *Warwick* frigate, with 200 seamen, to take part in the assault upon the castle. A demi-cannon belonging to the *Lyon* was u ed in battering the walls, but the latter proved too thick and the shot did little damage, "which Captain Thomas perceiving told the Major-General if he would give the seamen the plunder, they would undertake to storm it—which was promised but not performed,—who presently made a great fire at the gate, scaled the walls in divers places, and so got possession of that town and castle."[57] As at Lyme, so in Pembrokeshire, the sailors were proving a welcome addition to the land forces, and so vigilant were Batten and the ships under his command that the King's interests were little advanced in the western parts, in spite of the

(55) S. P. D. April 2, 1645.

(56) S. P. D. July 11, 1645.

(57) Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Manuscripts. August 19, 1645, Batten to Lenthall. The Vice-Admiral had reached Milford on July 29.

presence of the small squadron coming from Holland under Captain Haesdonck.[58]

During the remaining months of 1645, the fleet was patrolling the Narrow Seas, chiefly employed in transporting victuals for the Irish squadron, or in wafting to home ports merchantmen carrying cargoes of great value. In December, Batten despatched a small squadron to watch Falmouth, where the Prince of Wales was about to put to sea, and that same month the Vice-Admiral was instructed to look out for two ships that were daily expected from Rouen, loaded with munition for the Cavalier party.

Early in January, 1646, the Parliamentary Vice-Admiral was off the Cornish coast with his whole squadron. After cruising for some time near Falmouth, he heard rumours that the Prince was making for Dartmouth. Leaving five ships to watch the Cornish port, he instantly set sail for Tor Bay and Plymouth Sound. There he received intelligence of Fairfax, who had resolved to besiege Dartmouth and who desired the co-operation of the fleet. Batten accordingly set sail with eleven ships and pinnaces, "part whereof," he says, "I left before the town, and went into Tor Bay with the rest, the siege from Plymouth being raised the day before (I) came from thence."[59] The Vice-Admiral's arrival proved of the greatest moment to the army under Fairfax, and on the 18th of January Dartmouth surrendered.[60] The King's affairs in the west were now

(58) See May 9/19, S. P. D. and the 16th, where Sir J. Arundel, writing to Digby, says, "If we keep these frigates here, I believe His Majesty's service will be much advanced in these western parts by their employment." S. P. D. 1645.

(59) Batten to Lenthall. Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Papers, Jan. 17, 1646.

(60) Batten landed 100 men and some ammunition at Fairfax's request.

almost at the lowest ebb. Sir Ralph Hopton was making strenuous efforts to rouse enthusiasm for Charles' cause, but without avail. Fairfax was pressing him sore, and the Royalist general's reiterated cries for ships fell on deaf ears. His failure to secure succours by sea made his condition hopeless, and on March 14 the last force remaining faithful to Charles in the west surrendered to the Parliamentary leader.

The Parliament's fleet was now free to leave the coast and turn its attention to the islands. Batten, who had obtained intelligence that the Prince of Wales was at Scilly, sailed thither with all speed. On his arrival the Vice-Admiral sent an invitation to the Prince "to repair to the Parliament's quarters," whilst he himself "waited in the offing to enforce the invitation."[61] Charles, it is needless to say, thought fit to decline the facetious proposal, and during a storm, in April, he escaped to Jersey and thence to the French coast, which he reached on June 25.

For the summer of 1646 another huge fleet[62] was ordered to be set forth, but there was little to be done save cruising around the coasts. In September, Scilly surrendered, and with the taking of this "second Arger" (Algiers) all opposition to the Parliament in those parts came to an end.

During the winter months that followed the capture of Scilly, the navy patrolled the coasts without meeting with much opposition from Royalist cruisers. Parliament in

(61) Jean Chevalier 'Journal et Recueil des choses les plus remarquables en l'isle de Jersey arrivées pendant les guerres civiles.' p. 160. H. M. C. 2nd Report.

(62) It was of no less than 64 ships. In addition to this, 34 merchantmen were ordered to be graved and fitted for the sea in case of emergency. See Navy List, 1646, and Collection of Pamphlets 1646. No. 24.

consequence felt itself at liberty to consider Irish affairs, and measures were taken for despatching an additional squadron to the Irish Sea, to facilitate the transportation of troops to Dublin. The Channel Isles were also engrossing the minds of the assembly at Westminster, and ships were ordered to be prepared at Portsmouth in April 1647 for transporting 1,200 men to Jersey.[63] Righteously indignant at the depredations of Royalist vessels set out from that island, and exasperated by the capture, in March, of a valuable storeship bound for Ireland,[64] Parliament had now determined to drive the Cavaliers out of the Channel Islands and bring the latter under its immediate control.

While measures were being concerted for despatching a force to expel Carteret from Jersey, the fleet under Batten was cruising in the Channel, and exacting the homage which had been the proud prerogative of the English kings for centuries. Early in May, a Swedish fleet refused to salute the English flag near the Isle of Wight, and Captain Owen, of the *Henrietta Maria*, though accompanied by but one other vessel, determined to enforce the ancient rights of his country. With a courage worthy of the bold Elizabethan seamen of old, Owen attacked the Swedish vessels, and only ceased the fight when his tiller was shot away, thus leaving him powerless to pursue. Making his way back to Portsmouth as best possible, he sent to Batten an account of the occurrence. The latter immediately made for the enemy with three other ships, caught up the Swedes at Boulogne, and took their Vice-Admiral's vessel into the Downs, followed by the rest of the Swedish squadron. Parliament, how-

(63) S. P. D.

(64) Hist. Man. Commis. Report 11, p. 158-165. These pages give an excellent account of the affairs of the Channel Isles during the Civil War.

ever, released the captured vessel on receiving full explanation of the affair, but the incident raised still higher the prestige of the Navy, and respect for the Parliament was fast gaining ground on the Continent through the firm attitude and resolute courage of the naval force in the Channel.[65]

On June 16, a Parliamentary squadron consisting of the *Convertive* and 7 frigates came to anchor off Jersey, and a hot cannonade was instantly commenced upon the town of St. Heliers and the forts in the vicinity. But little harm was done, and further demonstration being useless owing to the strength of the place, the attacking fleet drew off and sailed to Guernsey. Parliament had other affairs on hand more pressing for the present than this small outwork of Royalist power demanded, and diplomacy soon made up for want of success. The French ministry, unable to disregard the remonstrances which the English government was now making to Mazarin, issued an edict forbidding "all private persons arming at sea from sheltering in French ports."[66] Jersey was thus rendered impotent as far as its cruisers were concerned, and the English government was able to postpone all further dealings with the Islands till a more opportune moment, knowing that all opposition from that quarter was for the time being adequately checked.

In September, Batten was replaced by Rainsborough

(65) No one more than Mazarin had a greater respect for the Parliament's fleet. He himself knew only too well the value of this arm of the service, though curiously enough he neglected the French marine, and would willingly have wished to enlist the services of the English fleet in his attacks upon Spain. No doubt this fact had great influence in causing the ordinances of May, forbidding all hostile action against English commerce and restoring English prizes taken at sea.

(66) Hist. Man. Commis. 2nd Report, p. 162.

as Vice-Admiral of the Navy,[67] and the Parliament, resolute in its determination to maintain an efficient guard in the Narrow Seas, instructed the Navy Commissioners to present for its consideration a report on the state of the fleet. This solicitude for the welfare of the Navy was opportune, but party violence and disputes neutralized all the meritorious efforts of naval officials during the troublous summer months following

Early in 1648, Rainsborough took command of the fleet for the guard of the coasts. In his instructions, he was ordered to pay special attention to the interception of ships bound for Ireland, and to the distribution of vessels placed at various points, for the purpose of giving information concerning the movements of vessels leaving continental ports. The attitude of his captains also held a prominent place, and the suspicious Parliament had no intention of leaving anything to the hazard of chance, for Rainsborough was instructed "to inform himself of the diligence and demeanour of all the captains and commanders in the said fleet, and if he shall find any neglect of duty, he is to call them before a Council of War, and if there be sufficient cause to suspect any captain or commander, he is to put their charge into other hands until further orders from this committee."[68]

Orders such as these were not issued without a good motive. Unrest among the mariners had already been showing itself, and the dismissal of the popular Batten whose successor was the "rough and imperious" Rainsborough, had given further umbrage to the fleet. But Parliament had its hands too full to risk leaving Batten at the head of the navy. Dangers were threatening the

(67) On Sept. 27th (Dict. Nat. Biog.). Batten was too much of a Presbyterian to suit the Independents in Parliament.

(68) Instructions of Committee of Admiralty to Rainsborough. S. P. D., 1647.

Government on all sides. With the King in the Isle of Wight ever the centre of trouble, with reports everywhere circulated that the Prince of Wales was making ready to embark for Scotland with a large force,[69] with sedition seething in Pembrokeshire which threatened to assume the proportions of rebellion, Parliament's position was by no means an enviable one.

Shortly after replacing Batten, Rainsborough was patrolling the waters of the Solent, prepared to intercept any vessels that might be cruising there in the interests of the royal prisoner.[70] But sterner work required the fleet elsewhere. In March, a number of ships were despatched to Milford to co-operate with Fairfax in the reduction of Pembroke Castle.[71] From other parts of the coast,— Scarborough, Berwick, Harwich, Plymouth, —news was not of a more re-assuring nature. But it was not till the end of May that the most alarming intelligence reached London. All Kent was seething with discontent, and on May 21 a revolt of the most serious kind broke out. It was impossible for the ships then lying in the Downs to escape the contagion, and within six days of the uprising by land seven vessels of the fleet riding off the Kentish coast, joined afterwards by two others, revolted from the Parliament.[72] Warwick was immediately reinstated in his old office of Lord High Admiral,

(69) Gardiner. Vol. IV. p. 60.

(70) Charles was then in Carisbrooke Castle. One ship had already escaped the vigilance of the Parliament's fleet. This was sent by Carteret on January 8, and "remained a fortnight without exciting suspicion, as her crew, speaking their native dialect, passed off without question for Norman traders." Hist. Man. Commis. 2nd Report.

(71) Col. Poyer, the Governor, had raised the King's standard and had joined the revolters.

(72) They were the *Reformation*, *Swallow*, *Convertive*, *Antelope*, *Satisfaction*, *Roebuck*, *Hind*, *Crescent* and *Pelican*.

and was sent to quell the mutiny. Reaching the Downs with all speed possible he did his best to save the ships, but the presence of Kentish agitators on board neutralized his efforts. On June 5, the revolted ships had left for Yarmouth, and the greatest apprehensions were raised concerning the shipping at Harwich. One other vessel, the *Greyhound*, only escaped destruction by the merest chance, through the pluck and determination of her Captain and officers. The former had feigned to acquiesce in the new state of affairs, but when the greater part of his crew had gone on shore, being Deal men, "I consulted," said the brave old seaman, in his letter to Speaker Lenthall, "with my master and the rest of my officers, how we might get away from them, and Providence being our friend, we resolved unanimously as one may with the hazard of our lives being some four or five and thirty in number and no more, to venture to set sail and run away for Harwich. They no sooner perceiving that my ship was to sail, being about 4 or 5 in the afternoon the 8th of this instant, but presently two of their frigates cut cable and made sail after me, which were the *Warwick* and the *Pelican*, and let fly at me several pieces of ordnance, but the Lord was so pleased that we got away from them, and here I am arrived safe in Harwich, where I found three ships more for the Parliament, the *Providence*, the *Tiger*, and the *Adventure* frigate."[73] Harwich, however, was on its guard, and the revolted ships, refusing all offers of conciliation on the part of the Parliament, sailed to Holland.

It was a moment fraught with great danger to the Government. The disposition of the naval forces at their disposal was enough to unnerve even the most optimistic. Of the fleet remaining loyal, four ships were at Portsmouth and four more in the west. Only two were

(73) Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Papers. June 9, 1648.

in the Thames and at Chatham respectively. Happily for Warwick, the revolted vessels remained off the Dutch coast long enough to enable him to assemble what ships he had, and to hasten on those coming from the western parts. But the outlook in the provinces was of the gravest, and Captain Robert Batten, who had been besieged in Holy Island for six weeks, was crying out in vain for a small naval squadron.[74]

On July 28, the Admiral was ready to set forth, and orders were given him to fight with the revolted vessels wherever he should meet them. These latter had reached Yarmouth from Holland on the 22nd, and after putting the town in a state of great alarm, they obtained the victuals which they urgently needed and sailed for the Downs on the 24th.[75] Warwick, whose fleet numbered but seven vessels, bore up for Tilbury Hope, intending to dispose his squadron so as to effectually protect the Thames' mouth and London.

During nearly the whole month of August the two fleets remained apart, the revolted vessels now raised by accessions to the number of eighteen[76] in the Downs, and the Parliamentary squadron in the mouth of the river. On August 10, Batten in the *Constant Warwick* joined the Prince's fleet,[77] and that same day an attack was made

(74) Letter to Lenthall. July 19, 1648. Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Papers.

(75) On board the revolted ships were Prince Charles, Prince Rupert, Lord Willoughby (whom the Prince had appointed admiral, much to the disgust of the Royalists. See 'Hamilton Papers,' June 24, p. 220), and others of the nobility.

(76) Lauderdale to the Earl of Lanark (Lanerick), Aug. 10, 1648. The Hamilton Papers.

(77) He had "revolted" on July 28th, and had cruised about searching for the Royalist fleet. A few days afterwards he was pursued by the *Constant Reformation*, which finally gave up the

by a landing force upon Sir Michael Livesey's quarters in Kent.[78] This, however, proved a failure, and discouraged by this repulse, and eagerly desirous of departing for Scotland,[79] the Prince was finally forced to leave the Downs owing to the scarcity of victuals. On the 24th, Parliament wrote to Warwick earnestly imploring him to sail to the Downs and attack the revolted fleet before its departure, but the Admiral's squadron was too weak, and on the 29th the Royalist ships sailed into the Thames. There for some days the hostile fleets lay facing each other, but Warwick's weak force was insufficient to risk an attack upon the Prince's squadron, and he awaited the arrival of the reinforcement from Portsmouth. On the other hand, contrary winds prevented any movement from being made against the Parliament ships, and on the last day of August, the autumn gales and the want of beer finally drove the revolted vessels once more towards the Dutch coast, which was reached three days afterwards.[80]

Meanwhile Warwick had effected a junction with the Portsmouth fleet,[81] and his united naval force now

chase on meeting the *Roebuck*, and the two latter vessels keeping company as far as the Downs arrived the same day as Batten himself in the *Constant Warwick*. Hamilton Papers, Aug. 10, 1648.

(78) Sir Michael Livesey to Lenthall. Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck papers.

(79) Prince Charles had decided upon going to Scotland as soon as his fleet was sufficiently large to admit of his dividing it. The Estates of Scotland had been clamouring for some ships, and two had been promised them. But want of victuals now drives the whole of the revolted ships from the Downs. Hamilton Papers. Aug. 17 and 19.

(80) The fleet anchored off Goree. See Gardiner's History.

(81) The junction was made on the 2nd. The Portsmouth squadron numbered 9 vessels, but before Warwick's final force was complete several merchant ships had been added to his fleet.

amounted to no less than 24 vessels.[82] On the 5th of September the last remaining flames of revolt in Kent were stamped out, and the Lord High Admiral was enabled to consider the advisability of carrying the war into the enemy's own country. At the earnest solicitations of Parliament he sailed to Goree on the 19th, and on his arrival he immediately summoned the revolted ships to surrender. Prince Charles took little notice of this, and for more than a month the curious spectacle was seen of two hostile forces in close proximity to each other, yet neither daring to begin offensive measures. But quarrels among the Prince's counsellors and lack of means for paying the mariners brought on dissensions, and before the end of October, most of the revolted captains had either come in to Warwick with their ships or departed elsewhere.[83] Prince Rupert's imperious manner and his disregard of their wishes had soon alienated the hearts of these sturdy seamen who had risked all in a fallen cause. On November 21, Warwick sailed for England, confident that the Royalist naval power was crippled, and on the 23rd he was once more in the Downs awaiting orders from Parliament. News of piratical depredations[84] in the Channel had reached London, and the Admiral was ordered to detach some vessels for scouring the seas in search of the "picaroons." In the midst of his preparations for

(82) Coll. of Pamphlets, Aug. 29. Warwick to Parliament. Penn, quoting Rushworth, gives the number as 22.

(83) As Goree was a neutral port, and the Dutch fleet in large numbers was close by watching the proceedings, Warwick was unable to make any attempt upon the revolted ships in the harbour.

(84) *Constant Warwick, Love, Hind, Satisfaction,* and several smaller vessels had come in some days before Warwick left Goree. Coll. of Pamphlets, 1648.

getting ships ready for the winter guard, tidings came to England that Rupert had left Helvoetsluys, and had commenced that notorious cruise which took him to Lisbon and Toulon, to the Azores and the African coasts, and which made him the terror of English traders and merchants. The force he commanded, added to those vessels which he enlisted in his service during the early months of 1649,[85] was sufficient to keep the Parliament fleet occupied during the troublous years following the death of the King, but the skill and determination of Warwick's successors in command of the fleet kept Rupert farther and farther away from the English coasts.

With the death of King Charles, England now entered upon another phase in its naval history, and the "nation's bulwark," which had done a service of sterling worth during the Civil War, yet whose operations were so overshadowed by the greater events on land as to be almost unheeded and unrecognised, was about to recommence that glorious career of conquest which Elizabethan days had seen, and which the weak administration of the early Stuarts had so shamefully tarnished. The lesson taught by the Civil War and the calamitous times preceding it was now to lay its mark upon future naval affairs. Weather-beaten captains, trained from their youth in things nautical, had replaced the gilded youth and noble scions of the peerage, and the varied disorders of the Civil War had shown the true mettle and tried ability of admirals and captains of inferior rank, but of far superior merit and skill.

The influence of the Navy during the disastrous war between Charles and his Parliament had been a potent

(85) Information from Ireland, given by the master of a bark who had come out of Youghal, early in February, 1649, stated that Rupert had no less than 28 ships at his disposal. Hist. Man. Commis. Welbeck Papers. p. 509.

factor in aiding the efforts of the King's opponents, and had the Cavalier party been able to rely upon a major part of the fleet, how different would have been the result of the war! Batten's own recital of private acts clearly demonstrates what valuable assistance the naval arm could render. Reducing the fleet in the Downs, regaining Weymouth, securing Lyme and Plymouth, taking Haverfordwest, Portland, Pendennis, and Scilly, assisting Laugharne to rout the forces in Pembrokeshire, relieving Inchiquin when Youghall was besieged,[86] all this was but a small part of the operations in which the fleet took a share, and each incident had its effect upon the ultimate course of the war.

But the minor operations which were characteristic of the Civil War were now to yield to work, which became, as it were, the precursor of modern warfare on a larger scale. A great change in naval construction and naval tactics saw its introduction under the Commonwealth, and a new generation of seamen arose, which was destined to wipe out the blots of the past half century, and to raise the prestige of England on the ocean to a height, scarcely surpassed even in the glorious days of the latter years of the 18th century. A splendid era, in which men like Blake and Monk, Penn and Lawson, replaced incompetent landsmen such as Buckingham and Cecil, was now opening out, and the mighty influence of her naval service was preparing to thrust the England of the 17th century upon that path of conquest, which was to raise her flag triumphant in every land and under every clime.

(86) **Penn's Memorials. Vol. 1. p. 266.**

AUTHORITIES.

The following list of authorities includes the majority of the works studied or consulted for "The Navy under the Early Stuarts." Most of the French editions are taken from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The State Paper manuscripts containing the various journals are to be found at the Record Office, while the remaining works of reference are from the British Museum.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

The British Fleet. Commander C. Robinson, R.N.

Story of the Nations: 'Barbary Corsairs.' Stanley Lane-Poole.

La Normandie sous la Monarchie Absolue. A. Legrelle.

La Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne aux Pays-Bas, 1635-1700. Lonchay.

Studies in Naval History. J. K. Laughton.

'The Sea Fathers.' Lives of great Navigators (Sir C. R. Markham.)

England in the Mediterranean. J. S. Corbett.

Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon. Charles Dalton.

Thirty Years' War. Schiller.

Influence of Sea Power upon History. Captain A. T. Mahan.

La Marine Française. Henri Desmarest.

Histoire de la Marine Française. E. Chevalier.

La Marine militaire au Havre aux XVI et XVII Siècles.

Histoire de la Marine Française. C. de la Roncière.

La Marine Militaire de la France sous les Règnes de Louis XIII et Louis XIV. G. Lacour Gayet.

Histoire des Flottes Militaires. C. Chabaud-Arnault.

Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. S.P.D.
,, ,, ,, Venetian S.P.V.
,, ,, ,, Ireland S.P.I.
,, ,, ,, East Indies, Colonial, etc., S.P.C.

Histoire de France. E. Lavisse. Vol. VI. J. H. Mariégol. Chapter VI. La Marine.

Récit véritable de ce qui s'est passé au depart de M. de Soubize sortant d'Angleterre.
Les Héros de la Marine Française. G. Contesse.
Le Mercure de France.
The Records of the Woolwich District. W. T. Vincent.
Lettres Missives d' Henri IV.
Lettres et Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Richelieu.
Council Book of the Corporations of Kinsale and Youghal (Annals).
Bellièvre's Letters during his embassy to England, 1637-1640.
'Over Sea Britain.' E. F. Knight.
The British Mercantile Service. R. J. Cornewall-Jones.
Monson's Naval Tracts.
Holland's 'Discourses of the Navy.' Edited by J. R. Tanner.
The Sovereignty of the British Seas. Sir John Burroughs (1633).
Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. W. Oldys.
Life of Sir John Eliot. J. Forster.
Gardiner's "History of England under the early Stuarts."
History of the Royal Navy. W. Laird Clowes.
Royal Navy under James I. Article in Eng. Hist. Review. July, 1892.
The Fortescue Papers (Camden Society).
The Fighting Veres. Clements Markham.
Lives of the British Admirals. Dr. John Campbell.
Documents illustrating the Impeachment of Buckingham. Ed. by Gardiner (contains details concerning the loan of the ships to France in 1625).
Les Corsaires sous l'ancien régime. E. Ducère.
Histoire de la Charente Inférieure. L. Delayant.
Mémoires particuliers pour servir à l' Histoire de France. Henri IV—Louis XIII.
Journal of the Sally Fleet. John Dunton, Master of the Leopard.
Various Journals: Lindsey's, Rainsborough's, Northumberland's, 1636 and 1637, etc.
Administration of the Navy. M. Oppenheim.
'England's Worthies, 1642—1647,' with certain victories gained by the Earl of Warwick.
Life and Times of Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland. J. A. R. Marriott.
'English Seamen.' Southey.

Rupert, Prince Palatine. Eva Scott.
Memorials of Sir W. Penn. (Granville Penn).
Admiral Robert Blake. J. G. Stevenson.
Historical Manuscripts Commission. H.M.C.
The Hamilton Papers.
Collection of Pamphlets, Political Tracts, etc., of 17th Century.
Various memoirs, collections of papers, etc., referring to the French Marine during the 17th century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Histoire de France. Henri Martin.
La République des Provinces-Unies, la France et Les Pays-Bas Espagnols, 1630-1650 (Waddington).
Œuvres de Vincart et Montglat.
Les Relations des Pays-Bas avec le Portugal et L'Espagne, d'après un écrivain du XVIII siècle. M. E. Narenbergh.
Various French works relating to the operations of the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Montmorency, the Duke of Soubise and the Rochellers between 1620 and 1626.
Les Fastes Maritimes de la France au XVII Siècle.
St. Malo: Son Passé et le Tour de ses Remparts. J. M. Hamon.
Britain's Naval Power. Hamilton Williams.
Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.
Rupert of the Rhine. Mary C. Bushe.
Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers.
Historical memoirs of the Life and Death of Prince Rupert.
Les Corsaires. H. Malo.
Affaires de France, Angleterre, et Hollande. Ancien Supplément Francais.
Studies re-studied: Historical Sketches. A. C. Ewald.

ALGIERS EXPEDITION.

La Marine de la Régence d'Alger avant la Conquête. M. A. Lacour.
Correspondance des Deys d'Alger avec la Cour de France. E. Plantet.
Histoire d'Alger sous la Domination Turque. H. D. de Grammont.
Relations entre la France et la Régence d'Alger au XVII Siècle. H. D. de Grammont.
Journal of the Algiers Expedition, by J.B., of the ship, 'Constant Reformation.'

A short account of Algiers and its several wars (Philadelphia).
Calendar of State Papers Domestic and Venetian. S.P.D. and S. P. V.

CADIZ EXPEDITION.

Granville's (or Glanville's) Journal, 'The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625.'
The History of Cales Passion, or 'The miss-taking of Cales, 1625.'
Journals of Sir Ed. Cecil, Sir W. St. Leger, the Swiftsure, Someone in the Fleet whose ship arrived at Plymouth on December 14th.
Political Tracts, 1625-41 (contains a Journal and relation of the action undertaken upon the Coast of Spain, 1625).
Calendar of State Papers Domestic. S. P. D.

EXPEDITION TO RÉ.

La Honteuse Fuite de l'armée du Duc de Bouquingham devant le fort de la Prée, par M. de Thorax.
Advis véritable de tout ce qui s'est passé au siège du fort St. Martin de Ré, avec la rafraischissement de 13 pinasses arrivées le 7 de Septembre.
S.F.S. Siège du Fort St. Martin et Fuite des Anglais de l'Isle de Ré. Jacques Isnard.
Discours de ce qui s'est passé, tant à la Rochelle qu' en l'Isle de Ré.
Le Secours de la Citadelle de Ré: envoyé la nuict du 6 au 7 du present mois.
Récit véritable de ce qui s'est passé tant en l'Isle de Ré que devant et dedans la Rochelle, depuis le Lundy vingtième jour de Septembre jusqu'au Samedy dernier neufième d'Octobre, 1627.
Relation de la Deffaite des Anglois dans l'Isle de Ré le 8 jour de Novembre, 1627, par les troupes de l'armée du Roy que Monseigneur le Mareschal de Schomberg y commandoit.
H.R.R. Histoire de la Rebellion des Rochellois. Le Vray Journal de tout ce qui s'est passé dans l'Isle de Ré, depuis la descente des Anglois jusques à leur rembarquement.
Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Expedition to the Isle of Ré.'
D.D.C. La Défense des Cotes de Dunkerque à Bayonne au XVII Siècle. Georges Toudouze.

R.D.A. Relation de la Descente des Anglois en l'Isle de Ré; du siège mis par eux au fort ou Citadelle de Sainct Martin.

M.D.O. Mémoires particuliers pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII. Vol. IV. Le Duc d'Orleans.

S.P.D. Calendar of State Papers Domestic.

OPERATIONS OFF LA ROCHELLE.

Jean Guiton, dernier Maire de l'ancienne commune de La Rochelle. P.S. Callot.

Les Marins Rochelais. L. Meschinet de Richemond.

Histoire des Rochelais. L. Delayant.

Relation du grand combat naval faict devant la Rochelle le 3ème Octobre, 1628 (envoyée par le Roy à la Reyne Mère de sa Majesté).

P.M. Journal des choses plus memorables qui se sont passées au dernier siège de la Rochelle. Pierre Mervault. Rouen, 1648. (R.S., a former edition of this was also printed in 1628).

R.N.A. Les derniers temps du siège de la Rochelle (1628). Relation du Nonce Apostolique, translated by E. Rodocanachi.

Le Siège de la Rochelle (Les origines de la Marine Française) Jurien de la Gravière.

Récít véritable fait aux Reynes par M. de Camp-Remy..... de la honteuse retraicte des Anglois et de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé pendant les huict jours qu'ils ont este à la radde de l'emboucheure du canal de la Rochelle.

S.P.D. Calendar of State Papers Domestic.

Printed by the Faith Press, Ltd., Leighton Buzzard, England.